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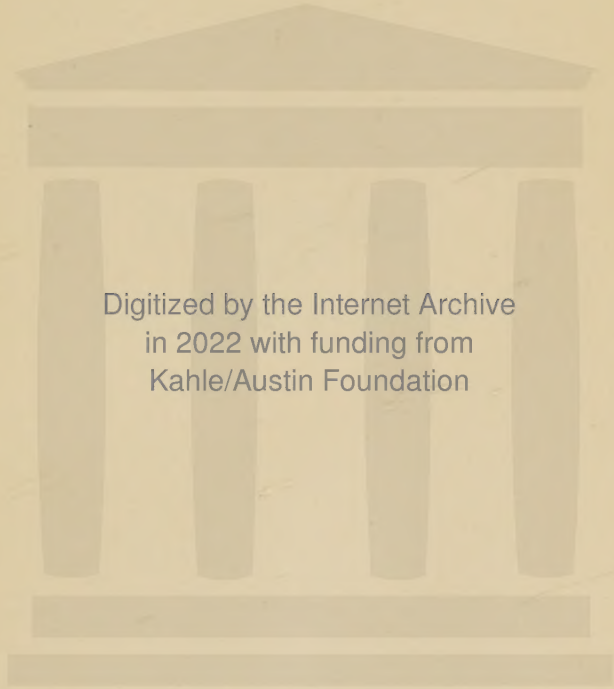
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THE CHURCHES
AND
THE WAGE EARNERS

THE CHURCHES
AND
THE WAGE EARNERS

A STUDY OF THE CAUSE AND
CURE OF THEIR SEPARATION

BY

C. BERTRAND THOMPSON

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NEW YORK
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1909

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Published February, 1909

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To

M. K. T.

PREFACE

A KEENLY analytical friend of mine is fond of remarking that nearly all vicious reasoning is due to the attempt to answer two questions at once. This error, at least, I have tried to avoid. I have devoted my attention to a specific, clear-cut problem—that of the gulf between the masses of the laboring people and the churches of to-day; and I have endeavored to limit myself strictly to this question, in spite of numerous temptations to wander into neighboring fields.

I mention this in order to forestall a certain class of criticisms aimed at what, to some, may appear to be inadequacies of treatment. I am well aware, for example, that there are many people alienated from the churches besides the workingmen. Professional men, both within and without the churches, stand in a peculiar relation to them which is vastly interesting and significant; but with this I have at present nothing to do. Similarly with the economics of the "social question" and of socialism. Their discussion from a scientific point of view is of vital importance; but it is quite outside the

scope of this study. I am concerned primarily with the relations of the churches to these problems; not with the problems themselves.

If it be asked why, in the chapter entitled "Facts," I have made no use of the numerous published statistics of church membership, the answer must be simply that they are not trustworthy. The Federal Census made several attempts, between 1850 and 1890, to enumerate the population of the United States by church connection; but the results were so extremely unreliable that the effort was finally abandoned. The "censuses" published year by year in the denominational and interdenominational journals are quite useless until we know in detail how they were compiled. Tests of church membership are so loose and so variable, and there is such a large subjective element in ministers' estimates, that the margin of error is very great indeed. Further, the motives for evasion and misrepresentation in regard to church affiliation are so strong that it is questionable whether accurate statistics on the subject can ever be compiled.

That other and perhaps more valid criticisms of this work may be urged I have no doubt. No one can be more painfully aware of its deficiencies than myself. I can only plead in

mitigation, first, that, so far as I know, it is the first venture into this particular field; and, second, it is written in the sincere desire to be helpful to the institution and the class in which I am most deeply interested—organized religion on the one hand and toiling humanity on the other. If it succeed in the slightest degree in clearing up their mutual misunderstandings, I shall feel amply repaid.

My indebtedness to other writers may be sufficiently obvious from the footnotes and the Bibliography. It remains only to acknowledge my obligations to Professor Francis G. Peabody, of Harvard University, and to my wife, for criticism and assistance at all stages of the work.

C. BERTRAND THOMPSON.

PEABODY, MASSACHUSETTS,
February 2, 1909.

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PART I

THE ALIENATION OF THE WAGE-EARNERS FROM THE CHURCHES: ITS EXTENT AND ITS CAUSES

DEFINITIONS

In any discussion of the subject of the present relations of the workingmen to organized religion it is of the utmost importance to distinguish clearly between the Church and the churches. The Christian Church is an abstraction which stands for a certain fairly definite set of principles; the churches are collections of concrete individuals who profess allegiance to those principles. Men may be entirely out of sympathy with the churches, while believing in the principles of the Church; the principles of the Church may be entirely favorable to the aims and efforts of the workingmen, while the members of the churches are entirely opposed to them.

Failure to recognize this difference is responsible for a great deal of current misunderstanding. The laborer becomes an opponent of the Church because dissatisfied with the churches; church-members accuse the laborer of base ingratitude and callousness, in view of all that the Church has done for him in the past and its

good intentions toward him in the present. This discussion will be concerned primarily with the churches. It will have to do with the Church only in so far as its principles may be considered as binding upon and reflected by individual churches and church-members.

By "wage earner," "workingman," "laborer," etc., is meant, wherever used in this work, the person who is employed by another, for wages, to work with his hands. The term thus excludes "brain-workers," "soft-handed" workers, and all salaried, professional, and "independent" business men.

CHAPTER I

FACTS

THE fact of the alienation of the masses from the churches has been so frequently noted of late years that it has become a commonplace. It is not, to be sure, altogether a recent phenomenon. As far back as 1813, Rev. Rector Campbell said: "I know it is the boast of the Church of England to be the poor man's church, but I am afraid it is only our boast." The separation of the "poor man" from the churches was then apparently viewed without any great concern; but now it is the cause of considerable alarm. To-day it is frequently referred to as the churches' crisis, and it is observed, with anxiety and deep foreboding, that the alienation is increasing. The decline is felt in all denominations. Small congregations and empty churches are noted everywhere. This is the case not only throughout England and America, but on the Continent also. In France "it would be difficult to find an assembly of Republicans in which the great majority are not atheists."[1] Ger-

[1] Mority Kaufmann, "Christian Socialism," 146.

many, which sets the tone for most of the northern nations, is the home of materialism. The southern nations are deeply infected with the infidelity of France. Russia, encased in ecclesiastical form, is also seething with disbelief. This "eclipse of faith," as Kaufmann calls it, is "peculiar to the masses of the workingmen of Europe"; and he might have added, of the whole civilized world.

Statistically, the rough statement that "the people are leaving the denominations by the millions"[1] is at least partially confirmed by the investigations reported by Dr. Josiah Strong.[2] After an exhaustive study of a number of selected representative fields in different parts of the United States, Strong concludes that less than 30 per cent. of the population of America are regular attendants, perhaps 20 per cent. are irregular attendants, while fully one-half never attend any church at all, Protestant or Catholic. This percentage for attendance seems to be too high. Investigations made by the writer in New England towns, and by a friend in a large part of Boston, would not warrant an estimate of even 15 per cent. of the population as regular attendants. In the United States popular in-

[1] Algernon S. Crapsey, "Religion and Politics," 315.
[2] Strong, "New Era," 203 *ff.*

terest in church-going seems to be greater in the West than in the East; but Strong's figures are unduly liberal estimates for any part of the country.

Statistics also show that church membership is steadily declining in proportion to population. Dr. Strong says:[1] "If the gain of the Church on the population during the first half of the [nineteenth] century is represented by 80, during the last half it is represented by 20, during the last twenty years it is represented by 4, and during the last ten years it is represented by 1."

The attitude of the non-attendants is of all grades of opposition, from mere indifference to positive antipathy. Sometimes it is described as "indifference to theology" (this is found within the churches also); more often it takes the more serious form of indifference or even hostility to religion itself. Occasionally there appears a personal distrust of the church or the minister, and even a decided "antipathy to parsons."[2] As we shall soon have abundant occasion to see, the attitude of the majority of class-conscious workingmen is, on the whole, an atti-

[1] Cited in *Literary Digest*, June 13, 1908; *cf.* Joseph H. Crooker, "The Church of To-day," 56.

[2] Paul Göhre, "Three Months in a Workshop," 175.

tude of active hostility to anything and everything connected with the churches.

It is a noteworthy fact that the people who are left in the churches are either the well-to-do and wealthy, "the hereditary rich, sheltered classes," or the young people from the shops and the offices, the "soft-handed" workers. The Protestant churches, as a rule, are not made up of the common people, but rather of the employers.[1] There is an apparent exception to this rule in the Negro churches in America, which are made up mainly of workingmen.[2] This is to be explained, probably, on the same ground as the other apparent exception, that of the Catholic churches in Ireland: the fact that the people as a whole are struggling together for justice and freedom. In both cases the antagonism of their environment drives them together to the consolations and hopes of religion, and in both cases, also, the usually superior education of their clergy leads all classes to look naturally to them for leadership.

[1] It is just this shifting of the churches "from the plain people to the rich" which "must be looked upon with discomfort and alarm," according to President Roosevelt. There is a danger of religion itself becoming a class matter, thus aggravating the already increasing tendency toward "class" alignment.

[2] R. R. Wright, "Social Work and Influence of the Negro Church, 30; *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*," 516.

The non-church-going class consists mainly of farmers, factory-workers, and, in America, immigrants. Strong's investigations in New England, Pennsylvania, and Ohio show a very small percentage of attendance from farmers. As for the factory-workers, it has been said by a churchman [1] who spent part of his life among them, that so far as they are concerned the church has been an utter failure. The attitude of some of them toward the churches he describes as "indecent." The extent of the hostility of some of them is illustrated by the statement of a labor leader: [2] "The American workingman hates the very shadow that the spire of the village church casts across his pathway." In England, Charles Booth, perhaps the most competent observer we could cite, says that the attitude of the workshop is "contemptuous."

In a study of the relations of immigrants to the churches considerable allowance must be made for the strong Protestant prejudices of the investigators. Josiah Strong says [3] that "a majority of immigrants believe either in a perverted or superstitious form of Christianity or

[1] Göhre, *l. c.* 187.

[2] Cited by H. F. Perry, "The Workingman's Alienation from the Church," 4 *American Journal of Sociology*, 626.

[3] *L. c.* 191.

in none at all." The figures of Grose[1] show that 52 per cent. of the immigrants are, when they land, nominally Christian. But residence in America soon begins to tell on their nominal allegiance, and there is everywhere a falling off. The Catholics are losing the Italians, the French, the Germans, the Hungarians, the Bohemians, and the Poles. There are over 300 Bohemian freethinking societies in the country. The Irish and the recent flood of immigrants from south-eastern Europe—Slovaks, Slovenians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Bulgarians, Servians, Montenegrins, Ruthenians, and some of the Lithuanians—remain devout Catholics. Time, and the efforts of Protestant "missionaries," will probably destroy the allegiance of these peoples, with the possible exception of the Irish.

This tendency toward defection is not by any means limited to the Christian immigrants. In America and in England the Jews are leaving their ancestral synagogues in great and increasing numbers.

Women have always preponderated in church congregations, and they are now relied upon as the main support of the average church; but

[1] N. B. Grose, "Aliens or Americans?"; the most elaborate investigation of this subject I have seen.

there is a falling off even in their attendance now becoming noticeable. "Women are beginning to stay away as they take their place in economic life," says Campbell.[1] The churches' disregard of their economic and social needs is driving many of them, especially in cities, into other movements. Unions and lodges have reached the women with their appeal; and to it the women are responding, to the manifest disadvantage of the churches.

This movement away from the churches is more accentuated in cities than in their suburbs, as might be expected from the usual difference in the nature of their populations, as well as for other reasons. In the cities, the centres of manufacture and of commerce, "the overwhelming proportion of workingmen is out of touch with the churches."[2] Their indifference and hostility in London, New York, and Chicago, is particularly noticeable. In London only 6 per cent. of the people attend church, while in the suburbs the percentage is 29. In other large cities and their environs the percentages are similar.

One who is actively engaged in evangelistic

[1] Campbell, "Christianity and the Social Order," 2; *of.* Mathews, "The Church and the Changing Order," 201.

[2] J. W. Cochran, "The Church and the Working Man," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 451.

work may sometimes be led to think that popular attendance is increasing rather than decreasing, because he finds his own congregations full. A famous preacher will observe that he meets large congregations wherever he goes. But he is apt to overlook the fact that the large congregation his reputation has drawn means smaller congregations somewhere else; that he is only taking members out of other churches, and is leaving the mass of the people untouched. When a brilliant preacher settles in a parish and "builds it up," he has usually, in the picturesque language of Judson,[1] "only given the ecclesiastical kaleidoscope a turn, and produced a new arrangement of the same old bits of colored glass." This method is worked frequently and in all places. It may be an advantage to the individual who finds thereby a more congenial church home; but obviously it does not in the least alter the proportions of those "in" and those "out" of the churches.

[1] Edward Judson, "The Church in Its Social Aspect," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 430.

CHAPTER II

CAUSES

WHEN we turn to seek the causes for this widespread movement we shall find them to be numerous and complex. Some of them seem to be rooted in the very constitution of human nature; some are the results of recent developments in social life. Some causes may be called the "fault" of the workingmen or of the churches; others are no one's fault, but are simply inevitable conditions of development. Fairbairn's statement [1] that the causes of alienation are involved in the whole process which has evolved the present social order is in a sense true; but the process referred to is an exceedingly complex one, and we shall find it more profitable to seek for more specific reasons.

What is needed at present is a comprehensive and detailed study of the reasons, whether ultimately valid or not, which are currently assigned for the popular indifference to churches. Especially do we need such a study from the point of

[1] Fairbairn, "Religion in History and in Modern Life," 19.

view of one who believes that the churches alone are or should be the generators and conservators of that religious spirit without which the highest civilization cannot persist; and who believes, therefore, that the problem now under discussion is the most important problem that could possibly engage our attention. In view of the facts as they are, the best friend of the churches is not the man who, ostrich-like, compliments himself and his little congregation on "the flourishing state of religion," but is rather the man who, in the spirit of the physician intent upon effecting a cure, ascertains and describes the truth, at whatever risk of misunderstanding and personal inconvenience to himself.

1. *Ascribable to the Wage-Earners*

The wage-workers' indifference to the churches is at least partly for the same reason as that of any one else—indifference and resistance to the call of the higher life. They have no consciousness of guilt or sin, or of special need, and they assume that the churches are only for those who have. Moral flabbiness, weakness, viciousness—whether in the cities, where they are the results of overcrowding and bad influences, or in the country, where isolation has brought about degeneration and demoralization—are largely re-

sponsible for the present straits of the churches. The people have no longer any feeling of duty toward organized religion. The churches have no charm for them, and they use their Sundays for rest and recreation. This "total depravity" theory, however, applies to the "classes" as well as to the "masses"; to the professional and business man as well as to the laboring man; and it therefore does not entirely account for the movement under investigation, which is so distinctively a working-class movement.

Another reason, and one of great importance, is the growth of materialism among the masses. "Men have grown hard," said a workingman,[1] "under bitter conditions, and think of God as unjust and unkind, if there be any God." The belief in Providence has disappeared. If there is any purpose in the universe, it is felt to be evil rather than worshipful. Further, the dealings of the average artisan with the forces of nature are such as to drive from his mind any thought of the supernatural. "Force" and "matter" are all that the mechanic needs to answer all the questions he is wise enough to ask; he has no place for the hypothesis of a God. In Germany this tendency has been greatly fostered by the anti-Christian nature of the literature created

[1] Perry, 4 *Am. Jour. Soc.*, 625.

within the last forty years to satisfy the popular demand for an education. This literature is saturated with the materialism of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It has spread through all nations. The workman has taken a materialistic, negative attitude toward the soul, toward all things of the spirit, all ideals; consequently religion has no content for him. But this factor, again, is not peculiar to the working people; hence is not a sufficient answer to our particular problem.

Another reason, and one of such vast potency as to demand special study, is the spread of socialism. "Among the more radical social reformers the attitude toward religion is hostile." [1] Says Mr. Charles Stelzle, Secretary of the Presbyterian Department of Labor: "Socialism has become for thousands of men a substitute for the church." The organized opposition to Christianity which is represented by socialism has been too long overlooked and neglected; but the detailed discussion of it must be reserved for another part of this book.[2]

Short of socialism, however, there is the whole "labor movement," including trade un-

[1] Francis G. Peabody, "Jesus Christ and the Social Question," 15.

[2] See below, Part III.

ionism and all the numerous movements for the alleviation of the laborers' lot, which do not go the length of social revolution. With the advance of economic and social science, ways and means for the betterment of the position of the working people are becoming more and more clear; "social work" has become practicable and effective, and its urgent appeal is drawing thousands of the best natures into its service. As will appear later, the churches have allowed this work to develop independently of them, and now absorption in it is working deleteriously to the churches' interests. The churches also are or may be centres of social service and agents of social reform; but differences in aim and in method have engendered a certain distrust and hostility between them and the later "secular" forms of service. Thus, the insistence of the churches on the upholding of law and order is distasteful to the more ardent reformers. And for those whose chief aim is the destruction of the existing order of things, which is certainly the aim of the most radical, a negative religion, or the negation of religion, has, as might be expected, superior attractions.

Connected in a way with some of these reform movements are numerous misunderstandings of the object and meaning of religion which

are partly responsible for the hostile attitude of the people. Christianity is charged with failure to eliminate poverty—religion, it is said, may have been of some use once, but is of none now.[1] The church is looked upon as the bulwark and tool of capitalism, and may be referred to thus: "The church and the brothel, police powers and peace powers; in fact, all those things which we look upon as necessary for capitalistic stability."[2] The workingmen's contact with their employers in competitive and selfish dickerings gives them the impression that the church stands for the principles they there see exemplified. Further, they are inclined to identify religion with "belief in the Bible," and when they have outgrown the antiquated view of the Bible which is taught in most Sunday-schools, parochial schools, and in many common schools (as, for example, in Germany), they discard religion at the same time that they are forced to give up their old view of scriptural authority. Then follows a period, common to all half-educated people, when "legal proof" of religion is demanded. The fallacies involved in all these misunderstandings can be easily pointed out; but the fact in which we

[1] Göhre, *l. c.* 164, 173.

[2] Chicago Convention Industrial Workmen of the World (a labor organization of Socialistic tendencies), 1905.

are now interested is that the workmen do have them, and that they are contributory to their indifference and hostility to the churches.

Somewhat analogous to these is the peculiar misinterpretation of religious observances for which Veblen is responsible.[1] Ritual, he says, is an exhibition of "vicarious leisure," attesting the greatness of a lord in whose service time and effort may be recklessly wasted. "Conspicuous waste" is shown in gorgeous vestments, churches, and other "devout consumption." "The consumption of ceremonial paraphernalia required by any cult, in the way of shrines, temples, churches, vestments, sacrifices, sacraments, holiday attire, etc., serves no immediate material end. It may be broadly characterized as items of conspicuous waste." Exceptional devoutness —*i.e.*, any at all—is "in all cases an atavistic trait," allying one with criminals and "sports" and the classes of low intelligence and superstition. "So far as concerns the industrial efficiency of the modern community, the characteristic traits of the devout temperament are a hindrance rather than a help." These are not, however, explanations of the obsolescence of religion in industrial communities, for the masses of the people have never been capable of the

[1] Thorstein Veblen, "The Theory of the Leisure Class."

degree of sophistication evidenced by these ideas.

Another misunderstanding on the part of many of the working people—that religion is nothing but a lucrative profession[1]—has had a shadow of foundation in the undue emphasis which has frequently been laid upon the financial needs and successes of the church. Methods of public and private appeal have often savored of commercialism in a high degree. The popular jest about sending for the pastor instead of the doctor when the small boy had swallowed the penny, on the ground that "the pastor could get money out anybody," has an element of bitterness in it. The crowds which follow "Billy" Sunday do so largely as a tribute to his wonderful money-making capacity; and the popular admiration for enormous "Missionary Funds," etc., is well known. But the fact is overlooked that every triumph of this sort brings to religion an ever increasing portion of popular disrespect.

One of the chief causes of unfriendliness working in the case of the immigrants is the fact that emigration is frequently due to religious persecution or oppression at home. They do not

[1] "The English Established Church will more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than on 1-39 of its income." Karl Marx, "Capital," preface to First Edition.

move, as did some of the early emigrants to America, in order to establish their own worship where they would be unmolested, but rather to escape altogether from a religion which they identify with State churches. Freedom in America includes freedom from the domination of church and priesthood, and this is as eagerly sought as is political freedom. When America is reached, the first reaction is into atheism, complete alienation not only from the churches but from religion itself; later generations may begin to swing back, as is sometimes observed, but they rarely reënter the churches. The vast importance of this fact will be appreciated when it is remembered that nearly one-half of the population of the United States is foreign by birth or parentage, and over three-quarters of the population in the large cities.[1] The consequences of this are far-reaching. This permeation of American life by an anti-church influence has destroyed the power of old American and English habits. By the introduction of Continental ideas of the Sabbath it has helped to reduce church attendance. And especially it has set the example, the fashion, against church-going. It has started the "endless chain" of

[1] Strong, *l. c.*, 190; William Z. Ripley, "Races in the United States," *Atl. Mo.*, vol. CII, p. 745.

imitation; and in this case imitation has been particularly easy, and therefore popular.

For, to return from immigrants to natives, fashion operates in the matter of church-going as in everything else. Notice, for example, the effect on the Italian waiters of Soho, in London, of the worldliness of the society they are thrown in contact with, as reported by Booth. This "high" society does not go to church; the waiters must be fashionable. In America "society" does go to church, and the waiters would like to follow; but here another cause intervenes, viz., the fact that "society" makes church-going expensive. There is no doubt that the costliness of "holiday attire" keeps out many workingmen and their families. "Working clothes" are not, by general consent, "Sunday clothes." To equip oneself and a family of children in the latter is often a financial impossibility. And the further necessity of keeping up with the better situated members of the church in pew-rents, subscriptions, donations to charity, to bazaars, etc., also militates strongly against the workingman with small wages. This process of exclusion is cumulative; for with each decrease in membership the demands on those who are left become greater—with the final result that none but the well-to-do can afford the luxury of religion.

The causes of separation thus far adduced—depravity, indifference, self-interest, misunderstanding, imitation—may fairly be charged to the workingmen. Before leaving this part of the subject to consider the charges which are levelled against the churches with more or less justification, it is only fair to add another cause, which is somewhat in extenuation of the workingmen's faults and mistakes: the influence of their economic position upon the possibility of their responses to religious appeal.

Living on the verge of poverty, with irregularity and uncertainty of employment, must be admitted to be not conducive to the best soul life. Grinding anxiety about the mere means of subsistence shuts out concern for spiritual welfare. The spirit must wait until the body is fed and clothed. Modern factory conditions are unfavorable to religious life. Long and exhausting hours of labor leave no time nor energy for such a nicely balanced view of the whole situation as the preacher would like to see; and the lassitude of the one rest-day out of seven is not promotive of church-going. A tired body means a tired mind; and the average service and sermon are, to say the least, not exactly recreative. The inability to benefit by the churches' ministrations may become chronic.

Women and children whose lives are narrowed and stunted by factory and sweat-shop work are hardly to be blamed if they finally become unable to see clearly the worth of the church and the value of a religious life, and the beauty of ideals. It is psychologically impossible that they should. And it is not their fault. Dr. Crooker says: "It is a serious question whether our great captains of industry and leaders of society are not the worst desecrators of the Sabbath that the world has ever seen, though they themselves may regularly occupy a richly cushioned pew!" [1] It is not the Sabbath only which is desecrated: it is the divinity of human souls.

2. *Workingmen's Complaints against the Churches*

In the following discussion of those causes of alienation which may be properly charged to the churches there is no intention to offer judgment on the sincerity of the churches' work, nor on its theological or theoretical correctness. It may be that many of the charges against the churches are false generalizations from too few particulars, though many of them are admitted by ecclesiastical writers; in regard to others the churches may admit the facts but insist that

[1] Crooker, *l. c.*, 31.

their position is nevertheless the right one. It would, of course, be much more to the taste of all churchmen, including myself, to suppress or repel these allegations. The immense range and importance of the churches' benefits to humanity are incontestable, but their consideration belongs elsewhere. The justification for enumerating the following charges against the churches is simply that there is at least an element of truth in all of them, or, at any rate, the belief that they are true is a large contributing factor to the present condition. The churches' answer to these will be considered later in this study.[1]

First among these reasons must be placed the exclusiveness of the churches as to-day constituted. Made up as they now are mainly of the well-to-do and the rich, there is in them an indifference and even antipathy to the handworker which a most effective bar to his interest in them. Private ownership of pews is one means used, intentionally or unintentionally, to exclude the "undesirable." The fear of "swamping" by the influx of foreigners hangs always over the Protestant churches in the Northern States and in the great cities, and any missionary work in their immediate neighbor-

[1] See below, Part II.

hood is sure to be frowned upon unless it be directed toward the founding of separate churches for them. As one churchman puts it, the defection of the common people is due largely to the "laziness and pride of the old churches." [1]

Underlying this is the insistence on social distinctions which is so objectionable to all people discriminated against. This, as already suggested, is fostered by the system of pew rents, by which the wealthier are enabled to have the "chief seats in the synagogue." The poor have also noticed that, although there are many churches in which all social grades mingle, there is a tendency for the rich to appropriate certain churches to themselves and build missions for the "lower classes," and the poor refuse to snap at the bone thrown them. Says Dr. Judson: "The poor think the rich are appropriating all the best things which are supposed to help people heavenward, as the best preaching, music and architecture." [2] Even the idea of the Fatherhood of God is alleged to appertain to a "régime of status." There is also a notable lack of democracy in the government of churches, which are too often ruled by wealth instead of by numbers. It is not surprising that in view of

[1] Charles Stelzle, "Christianity's Storm Centre," 15.
[2] Judson, 30 "*Ann. Am. Ac.*," 433.

this situation the people are seeking those places in which their social equality is in no danger of not being recognized, such as lodges and saloons. The enormous growth of lodges and fraternal orders, as shown statistically,[1] and the immense popularity of saloons, are in striking and significant contrast to the decline and neglect of the churches.

Closely allied to this undemocracy is the apparent "excessive subserviency" of the churches to political power in the older countries and to wealth in the newer. Where the church is established "it is the constant temptation of the king-made bishop to attune his message to the kingly ear." [2] In America, where the churches are free, there is a strong suspicion of an insidious commercial control of the pulpit, evidenced by its failure to rebuke wickedness in high places and by its protection of the "criminaloid," [3] the social brigand who accumulates a fortune by the legal evasion of the law. The church is felt to be "a corporate support of financial sinners." That there has been some occasion for this belief cannot be denied. If the minister has not openly defended practices

[1] Strong, *l. c.*, 128; Crooker, *l. c.*, 36.
[2] Crapsey, *l. c.*, 230.
[3] Edward A. Ross, "Sin and Society."

which common morality knew to be wrong, he has certainly been silent many times when he was expected to speak. The dependence of the churches upon the financial support of the wealthy has an inevitable tendency in this direction.[1] The exceptions to this are, however, so numerous that there is an element of unfairness in the allegation. In all ages of the Church's history, before and since Christ, there have never been lacking churchmen whose voices have been heard in scathing denunciation of the wealthy depredator and the oppressor of widows and orphans.

Connected with this is a charge, not against the church, but against its members, which carries such weight that Charles Booth is moved to call the objection to church membership based on it an evidence of positive moral quality in the workingmen:[2] the inconsistencies,

[1] *Cf.* this paragraph from the New York *Evening Post:* "If . . . wants to apply the principles of morals to politics and finance, to speak out boldly, no matter whose feelings are hurt, to attempt the difficult and unpopular task of bringing religion into contact with daily life and thought, he must gather an independent following, which has confidence in his purposes and his ideals. So must any minister who wishes to be absolutely unmuzzled. This is one reason why strong men—as the churches themselves complain—refuse the ministry as a career; and one reason why the churches lack vitality."

[2] Charles Booth, "Life and Labour in London, Part III, Religious Influences," vol. I, pp. 85–90.

or, as it has been more strongly put, the hypocrisy, of Christians. The divergence between profession and practice, the incompatibility of pious humility on Sunday with laxity of conscience during the week, is a potent cause of disaffection. "The criminaloid with his loins girt about with religiosity,"[1] stands up on Sunday in the "well dressed congregation singing:[2]

> He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree;
> He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away,"

and the spectacle is not conducive to healing the breach. The churches have, in practice, tolerated a double standard of morality, "private" and "business." "Probably nothing so degrades the Christian religion in the view of men of the world as the conformity of Christian churches and Christian believers to the doctrine of ethical bimetallism," says Dr. Peabody;[3] and yet this is the doctrine which is quite often exemplified before the workingmen.

They cite the cases of Jim Fisk and of the Tweed Ring, and of others not yet in their graves, and insist that such conduct as theirs is

[1] Ross, *l. c.*, 63.
[2] Reginald J. Campbell, *l. c.*, 111.
[3] Peabody, *l. c.*, 221.

carried on to-day on a far more extensive scale by men who attend divine service with the regularity of a devotee. Charity and unselfishness are preached and believed in on Sunday, and are then exhibited in "the cultivation of a comfortable religious satisfaction" only. The world is divided off into compartments of sacred and secular, and religion, under a variety of adverse influences, is compelled to confine itself to the former. The ministers are urged to content themselves with theology, worship, devoutness, piety. It is unfortunately true that, as the result of a process of selection which has been going on now for many years, "One's sense of the proprieties is readily offended by a too detailed and intimate a handling of industrial and other purely human questions at the hands of the clergy." [1]

It was said at a convention of American workmen of socialistic affinities in Chicago, that the Christian Church "raises a magnificent ideal in the remote future, to be arrived at some time sooner or later, and in the meantime practises all possible wrong." [2] The exaggeration and injustice of this statement are patent; but if for "Christian Church" we substitute "professed

[1] Veblen, *l. c.*, 316.
[2] Cochran, 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 453.

Christians," there is enough truth in it to demand the most serious consideration.

To many it appears that the churches have too often heeded the call to return to the "simple Gospel," which is understood as another way of telling them to keep their hands off of all living issues. This has been called the "sociological age of the world"; and the neglect of social teaching in favor of a narrow and limited theology, or even in favor of a broad and progressive one, is one of the chief errors of the churches. In the past they have often failed to adjust themselves to their changing environment, and now that they are old and "set" they are becoming more and more unable to do so. "The laborers' demands are insistent and immediate; the church institution cannot adjust itself to them so quickly." It is notorious that as a rule the churches do not treat the most important issues as they arise. The "religious paralysis" in America has been attributed largely to "the failure of the church to grasp the moral significance of the slavery question" and to the effect on the public of the churches' treatment of such men as Thomas Morris, who was denied burial by the Methodist Church, and of such others as Whittier, Emerson, Garrison, Phillips, John Brown, Sumner, and Lincoln, who were all of

them outside, and some of them under the ban, of the orthodox churches.[1]

And so to-day the churches' failure adequately to combat present striking evils is a bad influence. "The slum is an outstanding indictment against the seriousness and sincerity of the churches' message to the age." [2] "Efficiency in religious leadership," says Mr. Allen,[3] "means that the working and living conditions be made fit to work in and live in." Judged by this test, *the churches have failed, so far as the lower classes of the poor can see.* They find that the churches have apparently left the betterment of their conditions to agnostics and atheists; and they conclude that the churches are more interested in talking about the rewards of the hereafter than in the removal of the evils they suffer in this life. The vast amount of philanthropy and work for social amelioration which *is* carried on under distinctively Christian auspices is quite unknown to the people at large. For some reason there has been, of late years, an apparent aversion to connecting philanthropy with the religious motive. Even in the case of the institutional church the distinctively

[1] Crapsey, *l. c.*, 264.

[2] Cochran, *l. c.*, 446.

[3] W. H. Allen, "Efficiency in Religious Work," *Ann. Am. Ac.*, Nov., 1907, 113.

religious element is often subordinated; and where it is insisted upon the results are rather unfortunate, as we shall see later. So this allegation, although in the main untrue, stands uncorrected in the public mind. The element of truth in it is this: that the churches, no matter how deeply they may be interested in charity, even on a large scale, have not as a rule attacked the causes of poverty, and have in fact expressly said that such is not their business.

This leads to another consideration which looms very large in the minds of the people of to-day: the attitude of the churches and their ministers toward the "social question," the problem of the right relations of labor and capital, and of the just distribution of this world's goods. This problem is obviously partly economic and partly ethical, and on both counts the position of organized religion is impugned. Ignorance of the question, indifference to it, and active opposition to the ameliorative efforts of labor are all charged and believed.

To the charge of ignorance of the economics of the question most ministers must plead guilty. Veblen has noticed that "what falls within the range of economics falls below the

proper level of solicitude of the priesthood in its best estate."[1] Most ecclesiastics, even when dealing directly with the subject, are content to admit, as does Fairbairn,[2] "the author is not a student of economics; in this region he feels rather than sees." But economics is not a subject in which the emotions may be relied upon exclusively; and Fairbairn's book, in its economic aspects, is a fair sample of what the results might be expected to be.[3] The ignorance of ministers about penology and prison reform, about the conditions of sweat-shop, mine and factory labor, about methods of social reform, and even about the liquor problem, has often been noted.

Even in the realm of feeling the ministers have usually failed "to grasp the tragedy of the struggle now going on." Their training and associations make it almost impossible for them to get at the real opinions and feelings of the workingmen. It is alleged, with considerable truth, that the churches entirely misunderstand the nature of the struggle in which the intelligent workingmen and their leaders are engaged.

[1] Veblen, *l. c.*, 311.

[2] Andrew M. Fairbairn, *l. c.*, vi; *cf.* Crooker, *l. c.*, 98.

[3] See especially Lect. VII. *Cf.* also Campbell, "Christianity and the Social Order," for a treatment of economic questions so naïvely crude as often to raise a smile.

Thus one recent writer [1] seems to think that the demand of the workingmen that the pulpit justify itself "from an economic point of view" means that the ministers should "raise the best potatoes," or should "add a pie-counter to the sanctuary." It should not be overlooked, however, that this deplorable condition is as much due to the reticence and secretiveness of the working people, and even the impatience of their leaders, when talking to their pastors, as to the indifference and ignorance of the clergy, who often do not know how to find out the facts, even when they are really interested.

There is, however, no possible excuse for that antiquated "the-poor-ye-have-always-with-you" theory, according to which poverty is but one of the inscrutable and inexorable decrees of Providence, with which it would be presumptuous, or even blasphemous, for man to interfere. Still less is there any justification, in this day of general social aspiration, for such pious cant as this (quoted from a denominational journal): "It is a comforting thought that, if God has seen fit to keep a majority of His children from privileges which we think essential to happiness, He has made them capable of being happy with the fewer and simpler things which he has allowed

[1] Crooker, *l. c.*, 63, 124.

them." The logical application of this idea, reversing the whole trend of progress, would relegate humanity back to the earliest stages of savagery, or better still, to the condition of clams, whose wants are practically nil and who are, therefore, happy in their easy gratification (or at least silent under their disappointment). How much nobler are the stirring words of the "layman," Henry George:[1] "Though it may take the language of prayer, it is blasphemy that attributes to the inscrutable decrees of Providence the suffering and brutishness that come of poverty; that turns with folded hands to the All-Father and lays on Him the responsibility for the want and crime of our great cities. We degrade the Everlasting. We slander the Just One. A merciful man would have better ordered the world; a just man would crush with his foot such an ulcerous ant-hill! It is not the Almighty but we who are responsible for the vice and misery that fester amid our civilization. The Creator showers upon us His gifts—more than enough for all. But like swine scrambling for food, we tread them in the mire—tread them in the mire, while we tear and rend each other!"

The charge that the indifference of the churches is responsible for their failure to pro-

[1] Henry George, "Progress and Poverty" (1905 ed.), 546.

tect the rights of the masses against encroachment, and for their comparative neglect of the doctrine of human brotherhood with all its implications, is very common, and is very difficult to answer. "Well, sir," said one man,[1] "I suppose the church does not care anything about us poor people, and so we come not to care much for her either—the more's the pity!" To cite Christian Socialism as the answer to this is not sufficient, especially in view of the comparative insignificance and failure of that movement.[2] On the other side stand the records. "I do not see," said Phillips Brooks, "how it will do any good to treat the workingmen as a separate class in this matter (religion) in which their needs and duties are just like other men's." The difficulty lies just in the fact that their needs and duties are *not* just like other men's. Says the *Congregationalist:* "There is too much talk about the church's relation to the labor problem, as though Christianity had a peculiar mission to those who labor without having their money employed in the work they are doing." That, however, is precisely the difference involved: the difference between the employment of money and the employment of life. The la-

[1] Cited in Kaufmann, *l. c.*, 146.
[2] See below, p. 102.

borer invests all that he has—his strength, his health, and his life—in his business; and when they give out he cannot clear his records and begin anew (at least not on *this* earth) merely by filing a petition in bankruptcy. As a prominent manufacturer said:[1] "A man may sell cotton at a loss and say, 'Never mind; to-morrow market conditions may change, and my loss may return to me as a profit.' He may sell coal at a loss and look confidently to the future to reimburse him—these things are mere material possessions; but when he sells his labor, that is quite another thing; for his labor is his own life. That is what manufacturers buy and the multitude of workingmen sell—parts of the lives of men."

"The Archbishop of Canterbury said recently that he worked seventeen hours a day and had no time left to form an opinion as to the solution of the problem of the unemployed. To which Mr. Keir Hardie replied that 'a religion which demands seventeen hours a day for organization, and leaves no time for a single thought about starving and despairing men and women and children, has no message for this age.'" [2]

[1] J. T. Lincoln, "A Manufacturer's Point of View," *Atlantic Mo.*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 288.

[2] Cochran, *l. c.*, 446.

Still more damning in the eyes of the people is the alleged active opposition of the churches to all reforms. In England there is never-ending opposition to political, educational, and social reforms, as in the case of the Reform Bill of 1832, the social reforms of Lord Shaftesbury, and the present Education Bill. Even Mr. Asquith's temperance legislation is opposed by the 1,280 clergymen who have savings invested in breweries. In Germany there is still a strong popular antipathy to Luther on account of the part he played in the Peasants' War, which was decidedly reactionary and undemocratic. In America the churches have never taken the same active part in politics as in England and Germany. But in the United States it is generally felt that "in the present democratic revolution the churches are not for the most part with the rising people, but are either indifferent or are with the dominant class. The clergy represent privilege." [1] President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, says that the clergy are opposed to the unions. Organized labor in general feels that there is an alliance between "the rich oppressor" and the church. "The parsons have taken sides with the rich." [2]

[1] Crapsey, *l. c.*, 283.
[2] Göhre, *l. c.*, 175.

The Church and the State are said to be institutions designed for stultifying the people. Says a workingman:[1] "The church has, as an organized body, no sympathy for the masses. It is a sort of fashionable club where the rich are entertained and amused, and where most of the ministers are muzzled by their masters and dare not preach the gospel of the carpenter of Nazareth." A man whose whole life was ruled by religion, and who was at least not unfriendly to the churches, writes:[2] "He who by fraud and injustice gets him a million dollars will have . . . the best pew in the church and the personal regard of the eloquent clergyman who, in the name of Christ, preaches the gospel of Dives, and tones down into a meaningless flower of Eastern speech the stern metaphor of the camel and the needle's eye." Such opinions, freely expressed, are indicative of the feeling of large masses of people; and although their inequity and fallaciousness are patent to those who know the facts, there is again sufficient truth in them to call for notice.

In view of this feeling, one can understand how church-going, in some centres of developed class consciousness, as in Germany, may come

[1] Perry, *l. c.*, 626.
[2] George, *l. c.*, 458.

to be looked upon as disloyalty to class; and why the religious workingmen must be secret in their allegiance to the church, as though it were something to be ashamed of.

3. *General Criticisms*

The charges we have been considering so far are radical in their nature, and go to explain specifically the opposition and hostility of the working classes to the churches. We pass now to a class of criticisms the force of which is felt by many inside the churches as well as out, and which, taken alone, could not account for the alienation of the masses, but which add cumulative force to their more fundamental objections.

The archaism of the forms and services of many churches is distasteful. The services are said to be stale and uninteresting. The average man's great aversion to kneeling down has often been noticed. But worse than this is the obsolete supernaturalism, express or implicit, in so much preaching. Says Mr. Crapsey:[1] "The great churches base all their teaching upon the miracle. They claim their religion is the one exception in the religious history of the world." But "economic causes work toward a secular-

[1] Crapsey, *l. c.*, 287; *cf.* Campbell, *l. c.*, 12.

ization of men's habits of thought."[1] The modern farmer is brought up on scientific methods, and the machine operative is a daily witness of the reign of law. In the school, the family, the lodge and the trades union, archaism and superstition of every sort have vanished. Yet the churches, especially the old school, which still numbers the vast majority among its adherents, stubbornly refuse to rid themselves of the archaic and superstitious elements which they fondly call their "priceless heritage from the glorious past," "an essential link in the chain of historic continuity," etc. The ordinary "dignified" and "reverent" church service, with its outworn implications and its unintelligible symbolism, is not only insufferably dull to the average workingman, but is further positively repugnant to the daily habits of his mind, steeped as the latter is in modernity, rationality, and directness. The same considerations apply, with redoubled force, to a well-known variety of preaching, which insists on miracles, special creation, "plenary inspiration," incomprehensible and unethical schemes of salvation, etc.—the delight of the revivalist, but uninteresting to those who do not care to think about them, and repugnant to those who do. Men cannot

[1] Veblen, *l. c.*, 321.

live in an atmosphere of evolution and personal responsibility six days out of the week, and then on the seventh flourish in a miasma of special creation and vicarious atonement of the Pauline variety. Among intelligent working people the orthodox church-goer is looked upon by his friends outside as either weak-minded or hypocritical.

There is about some churches a certain aroma of weakness and failure which is strongly distasteful to the mind of the virile workman, the successful artisan or farmer. There is frequently heard in them an appeal to the "feminine" rather than the "masculine" conscience; [1] a concentration on the mote when the beam needs attention. The churches do not often provide a kind of work in which men can engage. Their decline is obvious to every one; and this decline is cumulative, for their failure breeds a suspicion that they are not needed. The growth and apparently triumphant progress of materialism, at the same time with the decay of the Protestant churches, carries its clear lesson to the masses. They are also struck with the difference between the churches falling into disrepair and the gaudy theatres and massive business buildings going up all about

[1] Ross, *l. c.*, 96.

them. And when it is pointed out to them that worldly success and prosperity are not the churches' "sphere," that they are interested primarily in the saving of souls, the masses point to the increasing disaffection, to the failure of the churches as evangelizing agencies—it is notorious that church agencies do not keep pace with the growth of population; and still more searchingly to their failure to make good people of their own members. The quarrels and mutual recriminations of the denominations, and the rivalry, competition, and other evils of division do not help the case with the people. They find failure even in the efforts of the churches to alleviate the distresses of the poor. The attempted combination of ecclesiastical religion with scientific relief detracts from the success of the churches in both fields; when relief is resorted to as a form of bribery the case is worse; and when competition between churches in the same mission field is begun, and the "atrocious system of dole against dole, treat against treat"[1] is installed, the ruin of the churches in the eyes of self-respecting people is complete.

And last but not by any means least in this line of criticism comes the matter of the person-

[1] Booth, *l. c.*, ii, 95 and *passim*.

ality and ability of ministers. There has been no lack of personal sympathy and desire to do good, "consecration," among them; and that has been pretty generally recognized. But "consecration" is not enough, as experience has frequently and conclusively shown. For good or ill, the prosperity of the churches depends largely upon the personality of their ministers. What do we find? Says Kaufmann:[1] "Through general observation, especially among the country clergy, we should be inclined to say, admitting many exceptions, that the manner and method in dealing with the working classes on the part of the clergymen is very often either that of overbearing dictatorial pomposity, or that of softly-soothing mildness and good-natured imbecility." This estimate of the English clergy may be adapted to America by substituting for "dictatorial pomposity" (which American conditions do not favor), simple "indifference." In the cities also there is abundant inefficiency. Low-priced men are put into the down-town districts to solve the hardest problems—with failure as the usual result. Country ministers are put into city churches, with similar outcome. The dulness of the average sermon may be partly accounted for by the lack of

[1] Kaufmann, *l. c.*, 224.

inspiration in empty benches; but the empty benches may also sometimes be explained by the lack of inspiration in the sermon.[1]

4. *Inherent in Modern Conditions*

It was suggested that there are some reasons for the decline of the churches inherent in modern conditions, which cannot properly be charged, as remediable "faults," to either the churches or the people. To these we now turn.

The first of these, and one of considerable importance, is the great mobility of the people of to-day. With the improvement of the material condition comes the desire for a better neighborhood to live in; and with the movement from one neighborhood to another there goes a change in the personnel and status of the churches, the "better classes" leaving the churches to—the non-church-goers. This movement has made enormous differences to the Protestant churches of London and New York. "Within recent years," says Mr. Stelzle,[2] "forty Protestant churches moved out of the district below Twentieth Street in New York City while 300,000 people moved in." In East

[1] For a sympathetic but unconsciously amusing discussion of sermons, see paper on that subject by A. C. Benson, in *National Rev.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 492.

[2] Stelzle, *l. c.*, 17.

London the increase of the Jewish population has superseded the churches with synagogues. The enormous growth of the cities which has characterized the nineteenth century has far outstripped the supply of churches. And within the cities those sections which need the most churches usually have the fewest. "We plant our churches as a rule not where the largest number of people live, but where the church will receive the largest financial support."

In the meantime this removal of the most energetic elements from the country to the cities has correspondingly weakened the country churches. The country and the small towns are drained of their best native blood, and the places of those who are gone are being taken (if at all) by foreigners, who are neither wanted in the old churches nor would be likely to enter them if they were.

In addition to the movement of masses must be considered the habit of movement which individuals have acquired to such a large extent from the growing custom of boarding. Boarders and renters rarely stay in one place long enough to form permanent church attachments, and soon lose any they may have started with.

Also in this connection must be noticed the

effect of improved transportation facilities, which make it easier for the farmer and truck-gardener and dairyman to live far out in the country, where there are no churches, and where the difficulties of getting into town on Sundays are usually considered insurmountable. Going fishing or berrying is different, for one doesn't have to "get ready" for that.

Perhaps the most important general reason for the prevalence and increase of non-attendance is simply that the majority of people have already been trained—sometimes overtrained—in Christian principles, through the public schools and the Sunday-schools and the daily and periodical press and our thoroughly Christianized literature. In America and Europe the atmosphere is saturated with Christianity; the masses of the people could not get away from it if they wanted to. And although there is much left to be improved, their general average of religious and ethical training is already high; and they ask, quite naturally (on the current basis of always getting and never giving), why they should continue to go to church. They send their children to Sunday-school, and value highly its training for them; but for themselves they do not feel the need of further formal instruction. And as for the "instinct of worship"

—whatever it is, the masses of the people have it not.

Josiah Strong has observed that Sunday-school children rarely become church-goers, and he believes it to be the "fault" of the Sunday-schools. It is not, however, due to any defect in the Sunday-schools; for it is their very efficacy which has made church-going, in the eyes of many, superfluous. Unfortunately, there is no feeling of poignant spiritual need for either moral exhortation or worship on the part of the average workingman. It is exceedingly difficult to persuade him, honest and charitable and conscientious as he usually is, that he is really suffering for want of the constant ministrations of the church. The very success of the churches in Christianizing civilization is the chief obstacle in their way to-day. They have done their work so well that to the average superficial observer it would appear that they are no longer needed.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSIONS AND QUERIES

MR. MOODY once said: "The gulf between the churches and the masses is growing deeper, wider, and darker every hour." Mr. Charles Booth was so thoroughly impressed with the utter hopelessness of the whole situation that he wrote:[1] "Failure of all efforts almost drives one to the conclusion that there must be something actually repellant to the people in the pretensions of religion or in the associations of Christian worship." This is the hopelessly pessimistic conclusion from the facts.

On the other hand, it is often said that non-church-goers are not necessarily irreligious; the claim is even urged that "the workingman is naturally religious."[2] He is said to be alienated not from religion or from Christianity, but from its professors and from the churches. The religion of the churches, it is alleged, is not the religion of Jesus. "It will be the religion of Je-

[1] Booth, *l. c.*, ii, 79; *cf.* Perry, *l. c.*, 627.
[2] Stelzle, *l. c.*, 40.

sus," says Mr. Crapsey,[1] "and not that of the churches that will regenerate the world. The clerical order is losing influence not because the world is growing less religious, but because it is more religious than it was sixty years ago. Religion is not dying out but changing the mode of operation from the churches to the street, the shop, the market, the common council chamber." This is the optimistic reaction to the same facts.

Dr. Mathews pessimistically admits that there are some individuals not hostile to religion;[2] at the other extreme the evangelist Mr. Stelzle says that the workingmen are responding to the church's appeal; that "the workingmen honor Jesus Christ"[3] in the narrow theological sense which that phrase has for him. On this subject there is an opinion which is worthy of consideration: "The Jesus who is applauded by the average workingman is a minimized Jesus Christ, a fictitious person, not the Christ of the Gospels."[4]

But more important than this conflict of opinions is the fundamental question: Has religion, has Christianity, a real message to the working-

[1] Shailer Crapsey, *l. c.*, 140, 281.
[2] Shailer Mathews, *l. c.*, 140.
[3] Stelzle, *l. c.*, 39.
[4] Perry, *l. c.*, 629.

men of to-day? Is there that in the workingmen which will respond to such a message when properly presented? Will or can the churches present it to them in such a way that they will respond to it? These questions will be considered in the final chapters of this book.

PART II

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCHES TOWARD THE WORKINGMEN, AND ITS RESULTS

PREAMBLE

PART I of this study, which had to do with the extent and the causes of the alienation of the workingmen from the churches, had necessarily to consider the many and various charges against the churches urged by wage earners and their sympathizers in justification of their withdrawal. The more fundamental criticisms there urged were these: 1, that the churches fail to insist on spiritual and social equality; 2, that in their anxiety for the future welfare of the workingmen they are oblivious of their more immediate and pressing needs; and 3, that in regard to the "social question," the churches are either ignorant of it, or are indifferent or hostile to the wage earners' movement toward social amelioration.

In this Part we will consider the churches' answer, in theory and in practice, to these objections. In reference to each of these points we will consider: 1, the teaching of Jesus, which Christian churches may be assumed to accept as authoritative, so far as it can be ascertained; 2, the present theory of the churches, supple-

menting or modifying the teaching of Jesus; 3, a review (which may, for our purposes, be merely a very brief indication) of the activities of the churches, in pursuance or in contradiction of their theories; and 4, a criticism of their practice with reference to (a) its efficiency, and (b) its effect, favorable or unfavorable, on the attitude of the workers, which is of primary importance to the question in hand.

CHAPTER I

EQUALITY

1. *Spiritual*

THE conviction of Jesus that in the sight of the Father every man's soul is as precious as any man's soul, and that every one is worthy of salvation as a son of God, is obvious on the face of the Gospels. The dictum of Paul that "in Christ" all are one, which has been interpreted as another expression of this spiritual equality, has been accepted, in theory, throughout the history of the Christian Church, and is to-day insisted on from every pulpit and in every theological work. But through it all the careful observer will see that the theory has been given a peculiar twist; that, in fact, it is taken to mean that all souls are *equal in their need of salvation*, and not by any means in their actual spiritual value. The whole missionary endeavor of the church is based on the assumption of spiritual *inequality;* the distinction between the saved and the unsaved, the redeemed

and the damned, the orthodox and the heretical, the Christian and the heathen—in short, a separation of the people into classes, the "sheep" and the "goats." Evangelistic campaigns, the incessant appeals to "join the church," etc., necessarily insist on a difference between those out and those in; and this distinction is accentuated by the various forms and conditions of admission to the churches. Periods of probation, rites and ceremonies in the nature of an initiation, all emphasize the difference between the church member and the non-church member.

This distinction is inevitable if the churches are to fulfil their mission as saviors of men. If the man out is as good as the man in, organized proselyting enthusiasm is at once paralyzed. But it is a distinction nevertheless, and is unquestionably felt as an invidious one. The appeal of the churchman to the outsider is an appeal to the latter to raise himself to the spiritual plane of the former. "Spiritual pride" is a universal sin, and is easily recognized, even though it take the form of excessive humility. On matters of equality the workingman of today is sensitive. He will not be patronized. He resents any one's assuming a superiority, even the superiority which is necessary to help-

fulness. And he resents it all the more when this assumed preëminence is exhibited by those who are no whit better in their lives, whose consciences are not in the least more tender, than those they are seeking to convert. It is not always clear to the workingman that the churchman's plane is really higher than his own.

Even the right of the preacher to speak with authority is vigorously contested by the unchurched. A lady whose father was a German atheist, and who is now herself the editor of a prominent German periodical published in America, once said: "Why should I go to church, or help support one? I have never yet heard from a minister anything which could be of more value to me than my own father's training, or which gave evidence that the ministers' claim of authority was well founded." The clergy no longer have the monopoly of learning, of philosophy and of ethics, or of experience, or even of religious feeling, which formerly gave them authority.

2. *Social*

That Jesus was a democrat and held a doctrine of social equality has been frequently asserted, but it seems to me without sufficient warrant. That he consorted equally freely with

the Pharisees and with the harlots is true; but that was because their need of him was equally urgent. That, on the other hand, he recognized social distinctions is evident from the episodes involving the Samaritans: his original instructions to his disciples, on their missionary tour, to devote their attentions to the Jews exclusively, and his choice of the despised Samaritan in the parable to accentuate the selfishness of the Levite. It cannot be shown that Jesus was in any way interested in political equality as we understand it, or that even the conception of it entered his mind. Paul certainly knew nothing of it; his recognition of slavery and his numerous injunctions of submission to the constituted authorities of his day are anything but democratic.

The churches of history, however, have reinterpreted this teaching in terms of the polity current in their own times and countries. In an absolutist society the churches teach the divine right of kings; in a democratic government, democracy. Luther was a monarchist, Calvin a republican. In America, in the aristocratic South of ante-bellum days, the great planters were naturally expected to occupy the best seats in the churches; in democratic New England, Dr. Gordon says: "Social and class distinctions in a Congregational church are intolera-

ble."[1] Professor Ely, an American Episcopalian, extends this dictum to all churches; and the Presbyterians, from Knox to Stelzle have always clamored for "more democracy." Methodism has been democratic since its inception. The churches, they say, should be the social centres of the community, in which all grades and classes meet on an equality. Actual distinctions of classes are to be ignored or denied.

Occasionally writers are betrayed into slips like these: "The church must not forget her mission to *the rich*";[2] "it is the church's duty to reach the *very lowest* in the city";[3] but this is an entirely unintentional intrusion of fact into the theory. Rarely does one find a frank statement of the underlying truth, such as this of Mr. Cochran's:[4] "It is by *recognizing* classes that the church can fuse humanity into a great brotherhood." It is only by recognizing differences of endowment and of culture that the churches of to-day can effectively correlate themselves with the facts, and contribute to the progress of a genuine equality.

For it must not be forgotten that the spirit of

[1] Cited in E. L. Heermance, "Democracy in the Church," 151.
[2] Strong, *l. c.*, 291. (In all these quotations the italics are mine.)
[3] Stelzle, *l. c.*, 107.
[4] Cochran, *l. c.*, 446.

equality which has been evidenced in the church since its beginning, vague, indefinite, and unacquainted with its own aim, is quite different from the spirit of modern political democracy. At St. Martin's, near Buckingham Palace, "cabinet minister and crossing-sweeper kneel side by side," and there are innumerable cases of free admixture of classes in churches, Catholic and Protestant; but this has never been meant as an inculcation of the doctrine of social equality, nor has it ever been taken as such.

That the churches do actually disregard any assumption of social equality is well known and often admitted. It is only natural that associations of people with a certain standard of intellectual and financial attainment should gather together other people of the same class, while other congregations with other standards should also have their particular followings. Preaching adapted to a middle-class congregation is not suitable, in form or in content, to the poor; the two classes cannot be kept permanently together, as things are, under the same minister. If the minister attempts to meet the "lower" class on their own level, he is disapproved of by the social censors of his church,[1] and often by

[1] For an amusing case where the deaconesses disapproved, see Booth, *l. c.*, ii, 75, 78.

his clerical brethren; if he does not, they leave the church.

The moving of city churches "up-town" shows unmistakably that they are class churches. The churches are occupied by the well-to-do denizens of the residence sections, and missions are started down-town for the poor. And then, instead of leaving the poor to run their missions, the wealthy contributors who support them step in and control them, and the churches' actual disregard of democracy becomes once more fully apparent.

No matter how necessary, on grounds of efficiency and expediency, this neglect of theoretical democracy may be, its effect upon the people is bad. For, first, there is the too obvious contrast between the professions and the practices of the churches. Second, no one likes to have his actual social subordination impressed upon him more than is absolutely necessary; it hurts, and it breeds a hatred of the conditions which make it possible. In the third place, the people have a strong and growing feeling in favor of democracy and social equality; they insist that in the long run they are the most expedient and the most efficient; they have, in fact, made a religion of them. And finally, the people object to the churches' theory of equality

because when it is preached at all it is preached as a *fact* in the face of circumstances which make it seem ironical and cruel, instead of as an *ideal* as yet far from realization, but to the attainment of which all energies should be bent. In short, in the matter of social as of spiritual equality, the churches have occupied an illogical and indefensible position, asserting it to exist where it does not exist, and recognizing its opposite at times when and in places where equality should be insisted upon.

CHAPTER II

CHARITY

AS the recognition of spiritual inequality was responsible for the churches' great missionary work, and the admission of social inequality suggests their present opportunity, so the acknowledgment of another inequality, too patent to be ignored—the economic—is at the basis of their other great work, charity. In their philanthropic activities, the distinction between rich and poor has had to be admitted; and at this point we enter upon the second part of our subject: The churches' answer to the charge that they have neglected the more immediate wants of the poorer classes.

1. *The Old Way*

Charity is so bound up with the teaching of Jesus and with the practice of the churches through all ages that any discussion of Christian theory on the matter would be superfluous. "Charity was one of the earliest, as it was one of the noblest, creations of Christianity," writes Lecky.[1] There may be question as to whether

[1] W. E. H. Lecky, "Rationalism in Europe," II, 236.

Jesus enjoined charity for the sake of the giver, as has been generally assumed, or for the sake of the recipient, or for both; but there is no question of the Christian obligatoriness of "caring for the poor." Of late years, in view of the evils of indiscriminate alms-giving, to which we shall soon advert, there has appeared a demand that the churches apply the principles of "scientific charity," or even that they withdraw entirely from the province of material relief and coöperate with the charity organizations by attending to spiritual needs while the latter attend to the material.[1] This is suggested rather as a modification of their practice of charity than as an abandonment of it.[2] There is certainly no general tendency in the Christian Church at the present time to depart from its custom of material help to the needy, which has never been broken since the beginning of the church's history. In the Middle Ages, "so far as cases of individual hardship went, the church strove to defend the weak and to diminish the sufferings

[1] Edward T. Devine, "Principles of Relief," 323, 329; George B. Mangold, "The Church and Philanthropy," *Ann. Am. Ac.*, Nov., 1907, p. 94.

[2] R. J. Campbell (*l. c.*, 165) says: "Charity is worse than useless; systematically practised it is a demoralizing influence." So far as I know, this expression is unique, coming from a clergyman. *Cf.* on the merits of the practice, Lecky, *l. c.*, 236.

of the poor";[1] and no one questions that it does the same to-day. "Never was this sense of responsibility for the poor so profoundly felt by the Christian church as at the present time."[2]

But the efficiency and wisdom of the churches' charity work are being very seriously questioned. Philanthropic activities carried on in a haphazard way are not always beneficent. Perhaps as much harm as good has been done by indiscriminate giving. The thrifty have been taxed to support the lazy in vice and thriftlessness, perhaps more often than the worthy have been put in the way of their own economic salvation. The administration of charity is beset with difficulties which the churches are seldom in position to overcome.

Churches in America and in England have passed through some disheartening but instructive experiences in this connection.[3] Their efforts at the betterment of conditions have sometimes, in their ignorance of the working of economic forces, resulted only in making them worse. Free shelters are provided in London for the homeless; as a result tramps are attracted to the city in hordes, swelling the great

[1] Alfred Marshall, "Principles of Economics" (4th ed.), 28.
[2] Peabody, *l. c.*, 232.
[3] See Devine, *l. c.*, 325 *ff.*; Booth, *l. c.*, *passim.*

"reserve army" of unemployed unskilled labor and reducing wages throughout the city. "Church charities help low prices of goods by subsidizing underpaid workers," [1] thus contributing directly to the maintenance of the sweating and other parasitic industries. Insufficient wages of women and children, and even of men, are made up by help from the churches, and unscrupulous "contractors" and task-masters get the benefit.

The churches have not erred on the side of too little attention to the immediate material needs of the poor; they have given not wisely but too well. Their zeal has been far in excess of their knowledge. And they have sometimes shown a lamentable lack of appreciation of the help they could get from coöperation with trained charity workers. They seem still to have that unwarranted suspicion of modern methods which was voiced by Boyle O'Reilly in those famous lines:

> "Organized charity scrimped and iced
> In the name of a cautious, statistical Christ." [2]

[1] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "Industrial Democracy," 755, *note*.

[2] John Boyle O'Reilly, "In Bohemia." That he really knew better, *cf.* this:

> "Benevolence befits the wisest mind;
> But he who has not studied to be kind,
> Who grants for asking, gives without a rule,
> Hurts whom he helps, and proves himself a fool."
> —*Wheat Grains.*

Even the Salvation Army, which is in a situation peculiarly favorable to a clear view of the working of individual relief, is accused of inefficiency and of failure to coöperate with charity organizations.[1]

The bad influence of this exhibition of inefficiency on the people, who find their lodges and unions, "secular" agencies, superior in their handling of what the churches used to claim as their specialty, is further aggravated by the spectacle of relief used as a means of maintaining church attendance or membership—a species of religious bribery, as Booth calls it. Free breakfasts are provided on Sunday mornings for men who are expected in return therefor to attend divine service immediately afterward. There is a medical mission in London where, while the patients are waiting to see the doctor, a bright gospel service is held, and the hearers are directed to the Great Physician. No prayer, no pills. In congested districts, where the competition between churches becomes intense, contests of charity are sometimes set up, each church going to and beyond the limits of its resources with inducements such as free meals and lodging, free coal and blankets, free con-

[1] C. C. Carstens, "The Salvation Army—A Criticism," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 553.

certs for adults and free toys for children. A more efficacious breeder of scoffing could not well be devised.

2. *The Institutional Church*

The kind of relief thus far considered is usually administered by tender-hearted individuals, or by committees of a few women, with an occasional man for emergencies. But with the enormous growth of charitable work which has accompanied the growing competition of the churches with each other and with the forces of alienation, the work has had to be organized, institutionalized; and now we find in the great cities three highly developed forms of church relief organization: the institutional church, the mission, and the religious (and secular) settlement.

The institutional church is the outgrowth of the movement of city population noted above. When the old members move away from the down-town church, and hordes of strangers, usually foreigners, move in, the church finds that its old methods cease to attract, and it must find new ones or close its doors. It becomes "institutional." Its theory is quite simple. It finds that it must direct its appeal further than to the "religious instincts" of the people

with whom it has to deal; it must cater to their social and material demands, which constitute so much larger a portion of their lives.[1] It must show the community that it is interested in the whole man. It must meet the competition of the cheap theatre, the pool-room, and the saloon. It tries to provide a place of innocent pastime and social intercourse for workingmen and women and children. It makes itself further useful and attractive by the addition of classes of all sorts, industrial and literary. Gymnasium and physical culture, together with nurses and physicians, free clinics and dispensaries, attend to health. Finally, for those in need of immediate relief, it provides free employment bureaus, free legal advice, pawn shops, "perpetual rumage sales," provisions and coal at cost, etc.

The down-town city church *must* be institutional: for only the institutional church, with its club and other social features, and its educational and recreative and relief activities, can reach the neighboring population. The churches must take note of the gradual change in the family system going on in parts of the city where everyone "rooms," and they must meet

[1] *Cf.* Crapsey, *l. c.*, 296: "We are trying in a pitiful way to get back into real life through what we call the institutional church."

it by changing methods adapted to families to those adapted to individuals.

The principle of the institutional church has usually met with commendation, but occasionally it is objected to. Ardent evangelists hint that it is offered as a substitute for spiritual enthusiasm. Organization is alleged to be easier than inspiration. The unquestioned expensiveness of the work also brings criticism upon it—although Mr. Stelzle shows how an institutional church can be run on $100 a year. And it is seriously urged by practically everyone who has studied their working that these churches cannot take the place of evangelization; that in them the distinctively personal religious motif is apt to be lost sight of. This objection, however, is really based upon a misapprehension, due to the meagreness of visible results. It overlooks "the difference between an inspirational and an institutional centre: (1) large congregations once or twice a week; (2) the same people in small groups many times during a week." [1] The latter system reaches just as many people as the former, but of course in a less conspicuous way. In the best institutional churches each worker, teacher, and director is

[1] Judson, "The Church in Its Social Aspect," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 436.

chosen not only for his ability in his special department, but also for his religious persuasiveness, and at every step he is expected to keep the ultimate religious aim in view. This insures the continuous bringing to bear of religious influences in a pervasive way, which cannot help but get results which are more certain and lasting than any which follow the electric touch of the transient evangelist.

The subject of the organization, methods, range of activities, and distribution of institutional churches [1] is interesting and important, but its treatment would require a volume in itself. Millions of dollars and thousands of lives are poured into this work. There is scarcely a slum district to be found in England or America, or in the large cities of France and Germany, where the institutional church is not. Certainly no one who knows anything of the subject can question the greatness of the effort the churches are making to help the

[1] There is as yet no adequate and comprehensive treatment of this subject. The best sources within my knowledge are: for England: Booth, "Life and Labor in London," Part III, 7 vols.; for America: Judson, "The Institutional Church," Judson, "The Church in Its Social Aspect," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 436; Wm. J. Kerby, "Social Work in the Catholic Church, *ibid.*, 477; Hodges and Reichert, "The Administration of an Institutional Church"; "Annual Reports" and other publications of St. Bartholomew's, St. George's, and Judson Memorial, New York, and of Morgan Memorial, Boston.

poorer classes through this channel. We pass to a consideration of its results.

The material helpfulness of these activities is obvious. They reach and relieve minor cases with a directness and an efficiency which "organized charity" cannot equal; and in larger matters their tendency is more and more to apply the canons of scientific relief. And, on the whole, their spiritual efficacy must also be admitted, though it is somewhat harder to ascertain. The influence of these churches is probably larger than appears. The people as a rule transfer to their homes the lessons learned in them. Personal hygiene, sanitation, improvements in cooking and housekeeping, are unconsciously absorbed and applied, to say nothing of lessons in courtesy, patience, and kindliness. Booth notes that conditions in East London, where institutional churches abound, have vastly improved in the last twenty or thirty years. He attributes this, however, to the school training and to the devoted lives of some of the clergy, rather than to the direct influence of the institutional churches. The best results are reached from work among the children. Boys' clubs and Sunday-schools help street children in every way, physically, mentally, and morally. Boys' Brigades are sometimes successful in

social work. These activities are often instrumental in breaking up the demoralizing "gangs" into which street children gather. Work intended to reach and reform the more depraved classes of adults is less successful. The attempts to improve the character of the common lodging houses in London are said to be a complete failure. In Boston and New York the immediate neighborhoods of the churches are sometimes cleared of vicious resorts, but the inmates are, as a rule, only driven to other parts of the city.

As to the effect on the churches themselves, it is everywhere evident that institutional work raises their spiritual tone. Their methods, demanding the voluntary coöperation of large numbers of workers, get old and young interested in philanthropy in a practical way, with the best of effects on the characters of those who engage in the work.

But as to the response of the people sought, there is not so much certainty. Dr. Strong cites statistics to show that institutional methods increase church membership;[1] but where membership carries with it certain extra privileges, and reductions from regular prices for provisions, tickets, etc., the nature and value of such increase are questionable. Boys' and men's

[1] Strong, *l. c.*, 245.

clubs sometimes bring good results, as do also Mothers' Meetings; the social opportunities offered are sometimes "a good bait." Occasionally those who avail themselves of these advantages feel that they ought, out of gratitude, if for no other reason, to "join" the church. Work on the little children is extremely effective everywhere in securing attendance, at least while they are still children. The attendance at institutional Sunday-schools is remarkable; even the indifferent send their children to them. The kindergartens also are effective in securing children from the tenements. The eagerness of all classes of people to send their children to Sunday-schools and church kindergartens is their unconscious but great tribute to the value of religious instruction at some period in life.

But Charles Booth's investigations in London throw the emphasis on the other side of the story. He reports that in one particularly bad section rough lives are controlled, restrained, and blessed by the care of the Catholic Church, but are rarely improved morally or materially. The religious influence on boys in the Church Army Home is practically nil. The Strand is over-visited and over-relieved, but spiritually untouched. He concludes that on the whole the influence of the Gospel is over those who work,

and only to a very small extent over those for whom they work. He reports even a half-hearted response to the churches' offers of material and social help. He tells of great neighborhood parties, where 300 people would be invited by streets; 80 would come, and out of these 80 one would go to church. Even a *soirée dansante*, limited exclusively to communicants, was unsuccessful. The attractions of warmth, light, and music, which would draw a man into a saloon any time, fail to get him into church. It is harder to get workingmen to attend a free lecture in a church than in a town hall. Church clubs for workingmen are sometimes successful; but they must be strictly secular; and the decided tendency is for the church to become an adjunct to the club, sometimes the "parson" being ruled out altogether.

Strong's statistics to the effect that institutionalization helps church attendance are not borne out by the testimony of active workers. Thus Dr. Judson,[1] one of the ablest institutional leaders in New York, says: "I am inclined to think that institutionalism is a handicap to church progress." One important reason for this is that people do not care to attend the church where charity is held out to them;

[1] Judson, 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 438, 440.

it is likely to be a constant reminder of scenes of suffering and humiliation. As a rule, institutional churches which carry on an immense and important work have very small Sunday congregations. If those whom they help affiliate themselves with any church, they do it elsewhere.

On the whole, one must conclude that although the institutional churches have magnificently exonerated organized Christianity from the charge of failure to attend to the immediate needs of the poor, they have not, on the other hand, succeeded thereby in changing the attitude of the people toward the churches. The laborer accepts the churches' benefits with more or less gratitude; but he has not granted any larger share of respect to their faith or their worship. He is as indifferent as ever. A visitor in London was told "not to worry: if the people wished to go to church they would do so; if they did not, they would stay away." Other visitors reported to Booth: "Give a man his pot and pipe and he will be best pleased." "They perhaps prefer the church to the Hall of Science, but what they really want is to be left alone." Certainly this desire to be left alone has not been much altered, in London or elsewhere, by the institutional church. One is almost forced

to agree with Booth, as one looks over the whole field, that the old system of personal relations between the pastor and his people was more effective, so far as church attendance is concerned, than the new elaborate machinery of institutionalism.

3. *The Mission*

The distinction between the mission and the institutional church is usually difficult to draw, and sometimes does not exist at all in any respect except administration. A mission is usually an adjunct to a "regular" church, maintained in the slum end of town by the wealthy people at the other end, and governed by the latter. Its work ordinarily includes some or all of the activities of the institutional churches, and, in addition, a more aggressive campaign of "visiting," the whole work being also suffused with a greater glow of evangelical fervor. It is, perhaps, the special emphasis on evangelization which really distinguishes the mission from the institutional church. The impulse for the movement came from Lord Shaftesbury, who was President of the great Casters Mission in London until his death. Rescue work for men and women, special missions for all classes, including children and cripples, lodging house and kitchen

missions, and special evangelistic services of all kinds, are indications of the range of their activities over and beyond the usual institutional work.

As for results, our evidence again comes mainly from England. Booth reports that in the case of one typical great mission an individual is now and then won to a better life, but in the main its efforts are wasted, or worse than wasted. Not that the salvation of a single individual is an insignificant matter, but that it does not seem proportional to the effort expended. In the opinion of an old lady district visitor their influence in low streets, where the most strenuous efforts have been made, is very small. The indifference to lodging house and kitchen missions is marked; their chief value is to those who do the work. The most substantial result of the activity of the missions, according to Booth, is in the better appearance of the children in their districts. Their open-air services are not successful. They are specifically charged by Stelzle with failure to adjust themselves to their surroundings, and with neglect of the immediate interests of their members. Their efforts are misdirected.

The efficiency of the Salvation Army, which is practically a series of missions, has been seriously questioned, especially on the ground of

disproportionateness of results to efforts and expenditure. It is also believed that the Salvation Army, even more than other missions, has unduly neglected the sociological possibilities of its work; and also that it is recklessly regardless of the canons of scientific charity. On the other hand, the Salvation Army is, from the points of view of honesty, of tenacity of purpose, and of large-scale results, unquestionably the best administered and most successful missionary enterprise of which we have knowledge.

The failure of the missions to draw the masses into direct affiliation with them is practically complete. They have not made the slightest dent in the hard shell of popular indifference. The people prefer the churches to the missions, and if they go anywhere at all they go to the churches.

Absence of democracy in the management is one reason for this failure. People do not favor the absentee landlord system extended to their spiritual homes. It is also possible that the practice, sometimes resorted to, of converting drinking and dancing saloons into missions and retaining their old names, "Paddy's Goose," "The Mahogany Bar," etc., is not conducive to the highest respect for the church. It does not degrade religion to popularize it; but it is a seri-

ous mistake to associate it too intimately with those things to which the best instincts of humanity, even in its lower manifestations, have an invincible antipathy.

4. *The Settlement*

The settlements stand in a class by themselves; for, with a few exceptions, it is their consistent policy, as in Mansfield House, Toynbee Hall, and others in London, and the innumerable settlements in America, to avoid any distinctively "religious" activity, in the usual formal sense of the term. Their spirit is the same as that of the best in organized religion, but their methods are so different that they have preferred not to acknowledge any affiliation.

This policy has been hotly contested. It is said that the settlements should not ignore the religious problem, "for there is no morality apart from religion." [1] And so it is insisted that every settlement should be a "Christian" settlement; or, at least, that there should be some settlements specifically "religious" in their nature. "One of the greatest problems of the Christian settlement," says Mr. Evans, "is to find out how genuine Christianity can be

[1] Thomas S. Evans, "The Christian Settlement," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 484.

effectively introduced into the individual and social life of a community blindly prejudiced against everything that bears the name of Christian." A Christian settlement should not attempt to be denominational. It is not a propaganda station. It should win the people to Christianity and then let them choose their own form of worship and church connection. In this way the settlements would be contributing something toward the support and upbuilding of the churches from which they have drawn so much of their inspiration: they would be helping "religion."

But, on the other hand, it has been well pointed out [1] that a discussion of the relations of the settlements to religion depends upon the definition of religion. A settlement like Toynbee Hall is assuredly not irreligious, though it abstains from definite religious teaching. Social settlements among the immigrants in America have been well called "essentially religious in their nature." [2] Lyman Abbott says: [3] "The religion of the Middle Ages was piety without humanity; it built cathedrals and burnt here-

[1] Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, "The Settlement's Relation to Religion," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 490.

[2] John R. Commons, "Races and Immigrants in America," 219.

[3] Lyman Abbott, "The Outcast," *Outlook*, Vol. LXXXIX, p. 616.

tics. The religion of the twentieth century is humanity without piety; it maintains great charities, but is not remarkable for its church-going. The latter is the more Christly religion of the two." Religion within these latter years has been given a broader definition, and is made to include "any group action which commands the best and the most of us." [1] By this definition settlement work, which commands the unselfish devotion of valuable lives organized and coöperating for the uplift of humanity, is most certainly religious. According to Stein [2] the function of religion in the future will be the perfection of the Man-type. It is in this work that the settlements are now engaged. This new definition, which is at present much more likely to win the approval of the sociologist than of the theologian, is, nevertheless, the conception which has the future before it. Its career of conquest is already begun: settlement workers, no matter from what church or creed they come, become speedily socialized.

The efficiency of the "secular" settlements is enormous in comparison with the failure of the

[1] This definition gives a basis to Mr. Crapsey's contention (*l. c.*, 305), that the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States is a statement of religious principles.

[2] Ludwig Stein, "Die Soziale Frage im Lichte der Philosophie," 673.

"religious" agencies we have been considering; and this fact cannot fail to have left its impress upon the popular mind. The new kind of religion "works," while the old, in some particulars at least, does not; and the people have made their choice pragmatically, as they usually do. It is observed even that when a religious settlement, such as Oxford House, attempts to enforce "religion" in its clubs, the effort fails. It almost appears that the masses of the people have no use whatever for "religion" as the term has been until now generally understood.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL QUESTION

WHEN the workingmen are asked why, in the face of such efforts in their behalf as we have been surveying, they are still antagonistic to the churches, their reply is likely to be to the effect that these efforts, though commendable in their intention, fail to get at the root of the difficulty. They may, at the best, reach and relieve some of the aspects of poverty, but they do not touch poverty itself. The churches work on individual cases, and the basis of their ethics is individualistic; but, say the people, the disease is a social disease, and ethics should be primarily social. Christianity was rejected by Mazzini and by Frederic Harrison on account of its selfish individualism. This is "the sociological age of the world";[1] and the questions in which people are interested are no longer theological, but sociological. The "social movement" is the people's movement; it is their religion; its problems are ultimately religious problems, and many men are

[1] Strong, *l. c.*, 130.

glad to recognize their religious aspects. In fact, "there is so much religion in the labor movement that some day it will become a question whether the church will capture the labor movement or the labor movement capture the church." [1] It appears rather to be a question whether the church will capture the people, the majority of whom are laborers, and regain its hold in the world, or whether it will allow them to organize their own social religion in their own way. For as religion in the past grew out of social ideals, so it may again in the future.

Hence it becomes of the utmost importance for the churches to determine their right relations to the social question, and, when found, to maintain them. What should be their attitude toward social reform and politics? What is their present practice? These questions we will consider now; the subject of social revolution will be dealt with in Part III.

1. *The Teaching of Jesus*

In seeking to ascertain the attitude of Jesus toward the social question one must bear in mind that the problem was never presented to him in the sense in which we understand it. The labor problem of to-day is largely ethical

[1] Stelzle, *l. c.*, 29.

and religious, and to that extent it may fall within the purview of Jesus's teaching; but it is also an economic problem, the factors of which are a very recent development in history. It began with the "industrial revolution," the sudden wide application of steam power to industry, and the rise of the factory system; and as to this phase of it, Jesus could have had nothing to say.

There is too much of a tendency among writers on this subject to-day to rely upon half-true generalizations. Thus, any such general statement as that "the Bible upholds the dignity of labor," [1] is not only unhelpful but is also to a degree untrue; for it depends upon which part of the Bible is in mind. The Bible begins with the proposition that labor was inflicted upon mankind as a punishment and a curse. Similarly, the statement so often made that the Hebrew religion was primarily social [2] is also partly untrue, because one-sided. The Mosaic legislation was, of course, as legislation for a community, social.[3] "The Bible is the most democratic book in the world;" [4] true enough,

[1] Cochran, *l. c.*, 441.

[2] J. A. Leighton, "Jesus Christ and the Civilization of To-day," 56; Walter Rauschenbusch, "Christianity and the Social Crisis," 8.

[3] Fairbairn, *l. c.*, 124.

[4] Stein, *l. c.*, 674.

if one is careful about his "texts." It has also been made to support the divine right of kings and the institution of human slavery. It is true that there is a social aspect of Hebrew prophecy,[1] and, perhaps, a subordination of individual to social elements in Hebrew songs;[2] but it would not be at all difficult to show that Old Testament ethics, like any ethics, was and must be *both* social and individual: individual in its aim, social in its results. Hence, to prove that Jesus was the successor of the prophets is not necessarily to demonstrate that his ethics was purely social.

An exclusive stress laid upon either the social or the individual phases of Jesus's teaching is sure to be misleading, for the gospel contains both. Half of Jesus's preaching is a social message—it may even be granted, temporarily, that the Second Commandment was intended as a practical working principle to control the organization of human society—but the First Commandment still remains on the books, and *that* half of the gospel deals with the personal relations of individuals with their God. Christianity defined religion in terms of social service, as well as in terms of personal holiness; but it did

[1] Ross, *l. c.*, 60.
[2] Richard T. Ely, "Social Aspects of Christianity," 151.

not mean to distract attention entirely from the necessity of personal holiness. Service and self-sacrifice are primary qualities in Jesus's ethics,[1] and they are both necessarily social virtues; but it must not be overlooked that they are also virtues which must necessarily be practised by individuals, and to which individuals must be converted before society can be benefited by them. Social service, in short, is not the whole of Christian righteousness, though it is a very necessary and a hitherto unduly neglected part of it.

There is a similar one-sidedness about the current estimates of Jesus's attitude toward the rich and the poor. The prophets were champions of the poor.[2] Jesus had natural affinities to the lowly.[3] "The poor were the people with whom Jesus most clearly identified himself."[4] Property was of little value in his eyes.[5] These statements are all true, so far as they go; the sympathy of Jesus for the unfortunate cannot be exaggerated. As Dr. Peabody says: "Jesus bears the burden of the poor always on his heart." But when Nitti writes that "for

[1] Peabody, "Jesus Christ and the Christian Character," 199.
[2] Rauschenbusch, *l. c.*, 11.
[3] *Ibid.*, 82; Adolf Harnack, "What is Christianity?" 100.
[4] Washington Gladden, "The New Idolatry," 128.
[5] Crapsey, *l. c.*, 46.

Jesus poverty was an indispensable condition for gaining admission to the kingdom of Heaven,"[1] and when Rauschenbusch adds to this that Jesus was opposed to wealth on social grounds, they are manifestly going beyond what the records warrant. The story of the "rich young man," which is fairly representative of the teachings of Jesus on this subject, shows that when the acquisition or possession of great wealth became a hindrance to the highest personal and social development of the individual, Jesus opposed it, not as wealth, but as a hindrance.[2]

Did Jesus possess the "revolutionary consciousness" claimed for him by recent writers, following in the track of Renan and the socialists?[3] According to Nitti,[4] "we are bound to admit that Christianity was a vast economic revolution more than anything else." Crapsey says that the attitude of Jesus toward the State was hostile.[5] Herron writes:[6] "The Beatitudes are the most revolutionary political principles ever stated." On the other hand, many author-

[1] F. S. Nitti, "Catholic Socialism" (Eng. Tr., 1895), 58.
[2] Peabody, "Jesus Christ and the Social Question," 210.
[3] *Cf.* below, p. 106.
[4] Nitti, *l. c.*, 64, citing Ernest Renan, "Marc Aurèle," 598.
[5] Crapsey, *l. c.*, 42, 48.
[6] George D. Herron, "The Christian Society," 53.

ities assert that Jesus was not a revolutionist.[1] Again we find part truth and part error, a mistake of emphasis. Jesus led no revolt against the constituted authorities of his time; but he did give utterance to principles which, if consistently practised, could not but revolutionize society in some of its aspects, then as now. "Jesus is not a social demagogue, he is a spiritual seer." [2] He devotes himself not to the alteration of environments but to the amendment of personalities. That this process should work out eventually to the reformation of societies is not primary but incidental to Jesus's purpose.

That Jesus was not an economist, that he laid down no programme, there has been so far no one hardy enough to deny. Even those who insist that the spirit of economic reform is to be found in his teaching, make no claim to discovering its method there. "Jesus had no economic theories, no interest in industrialism," says Campbell,[3] "he laid down no directions for the administration of the ideal state, or the guidance of the individual in his social relationships: his idea was supernatural revolution, not

[1] Harnack, *l. c.*, 102; George B. Stevens, "New Testament Theology," 117; Leighton, *l. c.*, 106.

[2] Peabody, *l. c.*, 208.

[3] Campbell, *l. c.*, 86, 176.

social evolution." Jesus was not concerned with political or economic organization; whether he intended even to found a church is questionable, and to me the evidence against seems to preponderate.[1] That he is not responsible for the modern conception of church organization must certainly be admitted by every one.

That Jesus was not primarily interested even in the ethical aspects of economic questions has been strongly maintained. "The teaching of Jesus is not a doctrine of economic justice and equitable distribution," says Peabody;[2] "it expands into the greater problem of spiritual regeneration and preparedness." Jesus regards "not comfort but character as the object of economic change." It is not the Christian distribution, but the Christian getting of gains, which is important. The gospel is not concerned with material wants.[3] Jesus was interested more in the duties than in the rights of men; his teaching is based on their fundamental needs,[4] which are spiritual. This view, held by able men and on good grounds, also seems to me to err from one-sided emphasis; it overlooks

[1] Stevens, *l. c.*, 135; Weiss, "Lehre Jesu," 156; Wendt, "Lehre Jesu," 180.

[2] Peabody, *l. c.*, 215, 313, 223.

[3] Harnack, *l. c.*, *passim.*

[4] Shailer Mathews, "Social Teaching of Jesus," 177, 181.

a fact suggested by the last sentence: that man's material needs are in a sense as fundamental as his spiritual. We are not concerned with the needs of disembodied spirits. Nor must it be ignored that the distribution of wealth among the factors involved in its production is a human activity, as well as the acquisition of riches; and the principles of ethics and of Christianity must, to be consistent, be applied as well to one as to the other. Jesus was not interested in the mechanism of distribution; he could have known nothing of it as it exists today; but that does not exempt it from the application of the test of his spirit.

It has been said that Jesus's social teaching is implicit in his account of the kingdom of God.[1] Perhaps no conception in the entire range of our sacred literature has suffered such violence of contrary and irreconcilable interpretation as this idea of "the Kingdom of God." It has been described as a social ideal, a model on whose lines society should be organized. On the other hand, it is said to be a purely spiritual ideal, a metaphorical name for all those who are members of God's family. By way of compromise, it is suggested that there is a social *motif* in it, but that Jesus aims beyond this

[1] D. S. Cairns, "Christianity and the Modern World," 186.

social aspect, and its outcome is a mystical union of the members of the Kingdom in the Body of Christ, the Church. There are scores of variations on these three themes.

The resolution of this discord would seem to be a matter for the exegetes. The Gospels are not at all clear, definite, or consistent on the subject; and there has developed recently a tendency to read almost any ideal into the concept. Scholars, however, are coming more and more to the opinion that its meaning varied from time to time in Jesus's mind; at one time it was an external kingdom, to be realized in the near or remote future, in heaven or on earth; at another time, it was the collective name for those who recognized their spiritual kinship; in other words, it was sometimes political and sometimes spiritual, sometimes temporal and sometimes eternal, in its significance. On the whole, the idea is altogether too vague for us to draw any definite conclusions from it.

The residuum of this brief discussion may be stated thus: The teachings of Jesus are both individualistic and social; individualistic in so far as they are concerned with the relations of each soul to its Father; social in so far as they deal with the relations of souls with each other. His sympathies were with the poor, and he had

no prejudice against wealth merely as wealth. He was not a reformer or a revolutionist of the external type; he had no economic or political programme; he was interested primarily in internal, spiritual reformation.

2. *The Churches' Present Theory*

The churches to-day are, theoretically, in substantial accord with this position, although they have not until recently been much interested in the social side of Jesus's teaching. Social religion is in reality a new experience, as "social ethics" is a new science. The churches' hymns, dating from the older days, are predominantly individual.

The progress of the new social feeling has not been easy or unchallenged. For instance, a recent writer has felt moved to enter a protest in favor of a reinstatement of emphasis on spiritual individuality,[1] alleging that a life of service would solve all problems, and that a true life for the individual, conscientiously lived, is itself truly social. Society, he urges with considerable force, would necessarily be uplifted through the elevation of the individual. The more modern attitude, however, and the one

[1] Leighton, "Jesus Christ and the Civilization of To-day"; *cf.* also Crooker, "The Church of To-day."

which is slowly but surely occupying the whole field, is that the church should work through the individual not alone as an individual, but as a cell in the social organism. But it is still generally insisted that, though the reformation of society is the ultimate goal, regeneration of the individual must come first, for two reasons: 1, society is made up of individuals; 2, the influence of the church, by which the reformation should be achieved, is dependent upon the perfection of its individual members.

But among the more radical there is a strong and growing feeling of the inadequacy of this programme. The "simple gospel" is not sufficient. Love of one's enemies, "resist not evil," may be good individualistic ethics, but they have no place in the modern world. An individualistic religion is not adequate to to-day's needs. The churches are in error in looking to the sinner rather than to the "sinned against"; it must be recognized that the sinner is to some extent a product of circumstances. The churches do well to insist that a Christian must be a philanthropist; but they should not glory in their charitable institutions and endeavors so long as they leave the causes of destitution and suffering untouched. Nor, it is insisted, can the churches hope to elevate modern society merely

through the elevation of individuals. Social evils demand social treatment.

The real meaning of the current insistence upon the essentially social nature of Christian ethics is found in this remark: "We should be interested both in the improvement of environment and the strengthening of character." [1] When Professor Ely says that Christianity is primarily concerned with this world and its social relations, and Mr. Stelzle proposes that the church must handle clearly the social problems of to-day, and the theologically minded Dr. Mathews writes that the church should teach the intimate relationship of God to social facts and forces, they all mean that the old exclusive emphasis on the training of the individual character, the cultivation of holiness, must be supplemented by attention to the environment in which that character must be developed, and that such attention must be accompanied by all reasonable efforts, individual and collective, to make the environment more favorable to both material and spiritual improvement than it now is. That the church should demand justice in the wage-scale and righteousness in politics, as well as personal purity, is an illustration of the

[1] Judson, "The Church in Its Social Aspect," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 447.

new attitude. Mr. Crapsey says:[1] "The religion of the state has to do with the salvation of the community, hence is greater than the religion of the churches, which has to do with the salvation of the individual"; and the churches now propose to meet the criticism by assuming the salvation of the community.

And so it is felt more and more that the churches should be organized on such a plan as to give their ministers opportunity for social study and social work; they should be the centres of social activities; it is their duty to know in detail the social structure of their neighborhoods; even the Sunday-schools should each have a specific social function.

Not that the churches are bound to advocate any particular social theory. As religious organizations, they have nothing to do with economic programmes. It must be clearly understood that the church endorses only so much of the present social system as is in accordance with Christian principles, and that it condemns all that is contrary thereto. It is not concerned with the method of economic reform. It cannot advocate any specific "remedy" except under abnormal conditions where the need is clear and urgent, and the operation

[1] Crapsey, *l. c.*, 307, *note.*

and efficacy of the proposed remedy beyond dispute. It is possible, however, to consider the existence of any evil conditions *eo ipso* an urgent demand for their removal; in that case the churches would find themselves obligated to take a hand in all promising reforms. This is the attitude of "Christian socialism"[1] in its best estate; but most churchmen would not go so far. They would be content to have the churches coöperate with other active agencies by the formation of an ethically trained public opinion. In the meantime they must inculcate a greater respect for law and order than has distinguished some reform movements of late years. They must also on occasion emphasize their traditional method of social regeneration through the individual, especially where an evil can be traced to its source in individual wrong-doing.

The best principle to govern the churches' treatment of proposed reforms would seem to be to apply to them first the ethical tests at their disposal, in the pulpit and in the press, and thus train the people to apply such ethical tests for themselves. In cases where the need for specific measures is pressing and their justification evident, the churches might reasonably be

[1] Kaufmann, "Christian Socialism," 18.

expected to take an active and energetic and, if necessary, a leading part in securing their adoption.

Though the churches should not attempt to make themselves the chief beneficiaries of reform, it would only be the part of a wise expediency for them to recognize their own vital interest in the solution of the social question. Social amelioration and spiritual opportunity go together. Comfortable homes, shorter hours of labor, physical and social well-being, mean willing ears and open hearts, a fruitful field for the church-worker. In these days the full church is more than likely to accompany the full dinner-pail. Moreover, social betterment is bound to come anyway; and the churches would better be found on the side of the common people, its main beneficiaries, when the victories arrive, rather than opposed to them: not merely for the sake of full churches, but to save the face of organized religion.

The hope of society is generally felt to lie in greater respect for the common good, in regard for the commonwealth. This hope has an ethical quality which should appeal to the churches, if they are properly constituted; the success or failure of its appeal is being applied by the most inexorable observers as a test of the

present worthiness of the churches. There is an insistent demand for a religion which should find its best expression not in individual salvation or worship, "in postures and impostures," but in an enthusiasm for humanity.[1] Humanity in the mass is looking to the churches to-day to see if that religion is to be found in them; and it is a critical and challenging and undeceivable humanity which is conducting the examination.

3. *The Churches' Present Practice*

A broad review of the history of the social activities of the churches would show that *in general they have done just about what they understood to be their duty*, in each age.[2] Differences in accomplishment are due to differences in conception of duty at different periods. When the churches thought they ought to relieve the poor, they have done so; when they understood that they must direct the policies of nations, they did so; to-day they are carrying on many reform movements[3] of greater or less importance, but of the kind their teachings approve. Get them to understand what they

[1] John Stuart Mackenzie, "Social Philosophy," 81.

[2] For history of social activities, see Rauschenbusch, "Christianity and the Social Crisis."

[3] For convenient presentation of data, see W. F. Crafts, "Practical Christian Sociology," especially the appendices.

ought to do, and in the long run they will be found doing it. There is no point in their social history at which the churches can be honestly charged with inconsistency of practice and theory (except in the matter of equality), still less with wilful neglect. The trouble has always come, not from any failure in the performance of their duty as they understood it, but in their *misunderstanding of their duty*, viewed in the light of the most advanced conceptions current in each period. The churches have always been slow in "finding" themselves in their continually changing environments.

Thus when it is charged that the churches have neglected to insist on their social teaching, the objector means that they have not caught up with the broad conception of their social duty now held by a few leaders. This is comparatively innocuous. But when it is added that the churches have stood in active or latent opposition to needed reforms,[1] this is a direct allegation of unpardonable misunderstanding of duty in a matter of vital interest to the people. That the charge is true cannot well be denied. In England the opposition of the churches to political reform in the '30's cost them the allegiance of millions. When sanitary factory leg-

[1] Lecky, *l. c.*, II, 128.

islation was being agitated, it was opposed by the "theologians attributing the workingmen's ill-health to the Act of God." [1] The prohibition of women's working in the mines was brought about by philanthropists on moral grounds, but not by the churches on religious grounds. And to-day it is fairly true that the churches' voices have not been heard very plainly for reforms that threaten profits, no matter how obvious the humanity and justice of the proposed reform may be. The wariness with which the churches handle the evils of child-labor, the sweat-shops, corporational and political "graft," and even (in some cases) of intemperance, has been too often observed by those who are not the churches' friends, and not often enough by those who are.

In fact, there are but two movements on which the churches in general have taken a decided stand, temperance and Sunday (miscalled Sabbath) observance. They have too often distorted the former by intemperance and exaggeration. They have not shown zeal enough in the provision of adequate substitutes for the saloon, which has been hitherto the one means of exhilarating sociability the workingmen's means and opportunities permit. The workingmen are also prone to observe that the over-con-

[1] Webb, "Industrial Democracy," 356.

sumption of alcohol (their pet fault) is the *only* over-consumption which receives the extended attention of the pulpit. The reckless and insolent flaunting of ill-gotten gains in the eyes of the hungry masses which characterizes an increasing number of notorious metropolitan social functions does not appear to have aroused any great enthusiasm of clerical opposition, as yet.

As to Sunday observance, the people feel that if the churches would devote as much energy toward securing shorter hours and more half-holidays during the week, as well as one rest-day in seven for those the nature of whose work permits of no universal intermission on one day, as they do to restricting, in accordance with obsolescent puritanical notions, the choice of his recreation on Sunday, they would be showing at once a sounder view of the case and a friendlier attitude toward the toilers. The clergy must sooner or later recognize that to provide the means for a Sunday afternoon outing to a workingman and his family is an "act of mercy." Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath for the workingman.

For underlying the churches' failure in their economic and social relations with the laborers is their ignorance of social and economic laws. Their charities fail to work any permanent

good, because they attack only the symptoms and results and not the causes of social disease. "The church's social work," says one of its representatives,[1] "is directed more toward effects than toward causes; toward personal action on the individual rather than on social forces; toward the spiritual more than the temporal. The church is quick and tender in caring for the aged poor, yet she is not conspicuous in demanding old-age pensions, etc." It is exactly in this inconspicuousness that the complaint of the people lies. "A hundred ways of service, visitation, and relief, the advocacy of temperance and recreation, the provision of the social settlement and of the institutional church, illustrate the expansion of the work of religion into the sphere of the social movement. Yet these Christian activities, beautiful and fruitful as they are, and testifying as they do to the vitality of the Christian religion, cannot be regarded as presenting in themselves a solution of the modern social question." [2]

It is very encouraging to note that "the past decade has witnessed a really remarkable arousal of the Christian conscience in behalf of

[1] Kerby, "The Social Work of the Catholic Church in America," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 475.

[2] Peabody, *l. c.*, 29.

the toiler," [1] at any rate among a few in the churches' vanguard of thinkers. This interest in the workingmen's movement is due largely to the impetus given it by Maurice and Kingsley in England, renewed a few years ago in America by the work of Professors Ely and Peabody.[2] The case of Hugh Price Hughes, and of the recent Pan-Anglican Conference, is an example of the growing interest of the English churches in the social question; and American churches are becoming more sympathetic and intelligent in regard to it. In Germany the Evangelical Social Congress has been organized among the churches for the express purpose of connecting them more intimately with the social movement. Ideas originating in the ranks of labor are being voiced, more or less unconsciously, but none the less significantly, from almost all pulpits. The churches are beginning to realize that society must be saved, even if only for the sake of the individuals who compose society.

But, unfortunately, the churches are almost irreparably belated in their interest in the problem; they have waited so long that the workingmen have long since concluded that they

[1] Cochran, *l. c.*, 454.

[2] *Cf.* the number of *recent* English works on this subject given in the Bibliography at the end of this volume, with the list given by Peabody, "Jesus Christ and the Social Question," 67, *note*.

could not be depended upon, and that they were in fact opposed to the whole movement. Take the labor unions, for example. They are in general, or were until very recently, convinced that the churches are hostile to them. They have heard their methods consistently criticised from the pulpit; but seldom have they heard their aims or ideals encouraged. The fact that one of their favorite and most indispensable methods, that of mutual insurance, was first proposed by a leading Baptist clergyman in 1819 does not help the matter, for the church ignored it. The hostile criticisms of another clergyman, in 1824, received far more attention and support.

Within recent years the Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopal churches in America have taken official notice of the trades unions, after the latter had been in prominent existence for more than a century. The Presbyterian Church has established a "Department of Church and Labor" for the special purpose of the study of the social question.[1] The department at present seems to consist of a superintendent, a competent thinker and an energetic and successful

[1] Stelzle, "The Presbyterian Department of Church and Labor," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 458; also Stelzle, "Christianity's Storm Centre."

worker, who travels and lectures and visits labor unions and church conferences: a sort of "travelling chair of Christian sociology," as he calls himself. He has established a system of exchange of "fraternal delegates" between some churches and unions, and the result in every case is a much more cordial feeling between them.[1] Some unions have even created the office of "chaplain," to provide a specific function for the visiting minister. This exchange system has been formally endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. The department was also largely instrumental in securing the observance of "Labor Sunday," which is helping to win again to the churches the attention of the workingmen.[2]

The Methodist Quadrennial Conference of 1908 has taken specific action in regard to the most pressing social problems of to-day by the adoption of a platform which places that church easily in the forefront of the socio-religious

[1] *Outlook*, June 6, 1908, "The Presbyterian Assembly."

[2] The Methodist Preachers' Meeting and the Baptist Conference of Boston recently took steps in the same direction (*Mass. Labor Bulletin*, No. 55, p. 209), and it is probable that the example of the Presbyterian Church will be widely imitated. At the Baptist Convention of 1908 a Commission was appointed, including Shailer Mathews and C. R. Henderson, to study and report to the denomination as to what the churches are doing along lines of social service (*Outlook*, June 13, 1908).

movement. The statement reads as follows: "The Methodist Episcopal Church stands:

"For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

"For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissensions.

"For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases, injuries, and mortality.

"For the abolition of child labor.

"For such regulation of the conditions of labor for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

"For the suppression of the 'sweating system.'

"For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practical point, with work for all; and for that degree of leisure for all which is the condition of the highest human life.

"For a release from employment one day in seven.

"For a living wage in every industry.

"For the highest wage that each industry can afford, and for most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised.

"For the recognition of the Golden Rule, and the mind of Christ as the supreme law of society and the sure remedy for all social ills."

This comprehensive and unequivocal declaration of Christian principles is a model of frankness and dignity which cannot be too highly commended. It has been adopted, with some additions (of questionable value), by the Federal Council of Churches at its meeting in December, 1908, at Philadelphia.[1] When all the churches shall have become permeated with the spirit exemplified in this platform, and the masses of the people shall have become aware of the fact, there will be no problem of the alienation of the masses.

These recent developments are encouraging; but one must be on his guard not to be misled by such statements as that "the workingmen are responding to the churches' appeal," and that "prominent labor leaders are members of the church," into the erroneous idea that the breach between the churches and the wage earners is near healing. The abyss of prejudice and mutual misunderstanding between them is beginning to be filled. They are becoming better acquainted with each other, and their mutual respect is beginning to grow. But a gap which has been decades broadening and deepening cannot be filled in a few months or years.

[1] *Outlook*, Dec. 19, 1908, p. 849, "The Social Conscience of the Churches."

Occasionally the church has had to do with arbitration in labor disputes, but in so small a way that its effect on the attitude of the public has been insignificant. In general, it remains true that "in the conflict between capital and labor neither the capitalist nor the laborer has any use for the minister." [1] Sometimes a minister may be found on the Australian wage boards.[2] The Standing Commission of Capital and Labor of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was appointed to act as a board of arbitration when invited to do so, was not once called on during 1901–1904, a period particularly marked by great strikes and lockouts. A clerical arbitration board once appealed to in Chicago charged such exorbitant fees for its services that both sides were disgusted, and that ended the possibilities of its usefulness in that city. Such experiments cannot be expected to be successful until the average minister's knowledge of economics and sociology is far wider than it is now.

The problem of the immigrant is assigned by the Presbyterian Church to its Department of Church and Labor, thus recognizing its social bearings; but, as a rule, the churches' mission-

[1] Crapsey, *l. c.*, 277.
[2] Webb, "Industrial Democracy" (2 ed.), xxxviii.

ary work among the immigrants, which is extensive and highly organized,[1] follows along the old individualistic and evangelistic lines. The aim seems to be to stem the tide of alienation, where possible; and, failing that, to convert the Catholics into Protestants—which helps the Protestant annual statistics of membership and does not materially injure the Catholics'. No very impressive success is reported. The Catholics hold the immigrants to some extent. The best work among them seems to be done by the institutional churches, which teach them English, find them employment, act as a general information bureau, etc.

[1] For details and statistics, see Grose, "Aliens or Americans?"

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT

WE cannot close this part of our study without a consideration of the churches' attitude toward politics and the state. In the interpretation of Jesus's teaching on this as on all other subjects there is the widest variety of opinion. Through all periods of history there have been some who have found the details of governmental organization laid down in the gospels, patent to all except (of course) those who are wilfully blind. Thus, within recent years it has been said that a gingerly treatment of Jesus's political principles is a sign of the degradation of the pulpit.[1] The Sermon on the Mount is the letter, the statute-book, of the Christian constitution of society. If so, government should be the primary interest of the preacher of Christianity; his aim must be to mould the constitution of society into conformity with the political ideas of Jesus.

It is tolerably certain, however, that Jesus was not interested in politics in any more than

[1] Herron, "The Christian Society."

an indirect way. His political theories, if he had any, should be found illustrated in his idea of the Kingdom of God; but, as we have seen, this idea is so obscure and uncertain that it is not much help. Scholars are generally agreed that the conception of the Kingdom of God was even less political than economic;[1] that Jesus did not have in mind primarily a political restoration. "The Gospel is not a bill of rights, for the mission of Christ had no political character," says Nitti.[2]

Jesus was rarely brought into direct contact with the government of his period, and when he was, his attitude was merely one of enforced submission to it. It does not appear that he had any of Paul's manifest respect for the state; his ideal of service was, in fact, a reversal of the current state-craft; but there is no evidence that he took a direct part in altering it. He appears to have sharply distinguished between the functions of religion and those of the state. The latter was merely one of the external data with which the religious man must reckon, as he reckoned with the forces of nature, but which, under the then conditions, was as remote from his control as the tides or the lightning.

[1] H. H. Wendt, "Teaching of Jesus," 364.
[2] Nitti, "Catholic Socialism," 58.

But the recent extension of the definition of religion has forced it to include politics also. Politics is group action devoted to the furtherance of well-being through the forms and activities of organized government. Political and religious thought are, therefore, but forms of each other. All questions of state are questions of religion. "While religion is more than politics, politics is religion. A church might better omit to apply the principles of Christ to everything else than to politics." [1] Others not so radical agree that politics is or should be a moral matter, and is, therefore, legitimately for the church to handle. The state is, by its nature, grounded in religion.[2] It is the expression of the solidarity of humanity, a solidarity based on coöperation and brotherhood, and demanding the religious concept of the Fatherhood of God as its necessary foundation.[3] Thus, by merely broadening the traditional conception of religion, government is seen to be part of it.

The democratization of government, by enlarging the sphere of the people's moral activities, has, at the same time, widened the sphere

[1] Crapsey, *l. c.*, 300.

[2] Franz von Baader, "Ueber die Zeitschrift Avenir" (Werke, VI, 31), 41.

[3] Ludwig Stein, "Die Soziale Frage im Lichte der Philosophie," 661.

of the preacher, bringing within his jurisdiction the matters of government in which he and his people are necessarily involved. And further, inasmuch as legislation is one of the most effective means of securing certain reforms, the churches may, on occasion, have to champion legislation. They have the same right to influence the making and the enforcement of the law that any other bodies subject to it have, and, when necessary, they should coöperate with organized political influences in that behalf. While it is somewhat of an exaggeration to say that "whatever government the ministers want the ministers can have," [1] still it is partly true. The ministers stand in a position where clearness and definiteness in their attitude on political questions must be extremely influential; and this possible influence for good should not be wasted. The policy of restricting their interest in city government to such matters as closing saloons on Sunday is distinctly evil, while we are still subject to the ravages of civic corruption.

In the opinion of many, it is the religious duty of the churches to take an active part in politics and government.[2] On the other hand, it is urged

[1] Crapsey, *l. c.*, 276.

[2] Crapsey, *l. c.*; Rauschenbusch, *l. c.*; J. R. Commons, "Social Reform and the Church."

that reforms are not a matter for the church, but for church members; that the church should not become a power in politics, though the church member should. The church is not concerned with legislation. The science or art of politics is quite outside its jurisdiction. It is likely to do more harm than good by meddling in government, and it is wiser to leave politics alone.[1] The tendency of advancing civilization is toward the complete separation of church and state; history has decided against their union.[2]

As usual, there is justification in both views, and the truth seems to lie between them. In our contemplation of the numerous evils which have been associated with the activities of the church in the affairs of government, we are very prone to overlook or forget the enormous power for good the church has thus been enabled to be. In the past "every new religion has either created a new type of society, or transformed the old." The Christian Church first transformed the religion and life of Roman society, and was then itself converted by the governmental traditions of that society into a hierarchical representative republic, and thus became responsible, in an indirect way, for the modern democratic

[1] Shailer Mathews, "The Church and the Changing Order."
[2] Lecky, *l. c.*

conception of government. The hierarchical overshadowed the democratic elements in the Middle Ages, and the rulers, outside the towns, utilized the theocratic caste so as, on the whole, to retard the growth of strength among the lower orders of the people. But in the interminable struggles of those days the Papacy was often on the side of the people against the kings; and with its fall the idea of the divine right of kings rose unrestricted to its culmination in Northern Europe. The Reformation, notwithstanding this effect, was, on the whole, democratic; for although its theology was thoroughly autocratic, it reintroduced in its organization the republicanism of the early Christian churches.[1]

Democracy in America owes much to the direct participation of the Reformation churches in politics; as much credit is due to the congregational form of church government as to the town meeting; and yet it is in America that the motto: "Religion and politics have nothing to do with each other," is most fully enforced. The degradation of "practical politics" is partly responsible for this; but, on the other hand, the aloofness of the churches is also partly respon-

[1] See Fairbairn, Heermance, Crapsey, Rauschenbusch (works already cited), and especially Emile de Laveleye, "De l'avenir des peuples catholiques," 16 *ff.*

sible for the degradation of politics. Here the churches have utterly failed to connect the gospel with the government; here, by a public opinion made up mainly of indifference on the part of the "decent" public, and moulded largely by the venal newspapers of corrupt "bosses," the ministers are most completely shut out from civic influence and political activity. In London, where at times home politics and religion have been freely "mixed," it has been for the good of both. In Jersey City, New Jersey, under Mayor Fagan, and in Toledo, Ohio, under "Golden Rule" Jones, religion and politics were "mixed" to their great and mutual advantage. The prejudice against "mixing" them seems to be a survival from the days when the secular arm could be and was used by the church for purposes of persuasion; but that day has long since gone. If one looks now for the effects of the application of Christianity to legislation, when he finds them at all he will find them to be good.

The whole matter resolves itself into one of far-sighted expediency. The churches should take a direct hand in politics when the moral issue is clear and where there ought to be no doubt on which side the churches stand. In this case nothing but good can result, both to

the government and the churches. On the other hand, when the moral issue is not clear, or where the difference is one of policy and the right is fairly distributed, the churches as religious agencies can add nothing to the discussion, and can succeed only in alienating from themselves those with whom they disagree. In such matters, where it is not a clear choice between right and wrong, it is wiser in most cases for the ministers to refrain from attempting to mould public opinion from the pulpit, no matter how expert they may be on the social or economic expediencies involved. It is not necessary, ordinarily, and it may injure their influence in other matters. They must remember that, after all, their primary concern is not government but righteousness; and that "there is no political alchemy by which you can get golden conduct out of leaden instincts." [1] Such alchemy must be spiritual, if it exists at all.

To summarize this part of our study: we have found that the churches have not been guilty of a divergence between their preaching and their practice, except in the matter of spiritual and social equality, in which case their theory was

[1] Herbert Spencer, "The Coming Slavery," *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, April, 1884.

so entirely out of harmony with the facts that variance was inevitable. In economic relations, the churches have believed in helping the poor individually, but not collectively; so we find charity conducted on an enormous scale, but seldom are the chuches seen attempting to go to the root of the matter in social and economic conditions. This performance of their duty as the churches see it has failed to touch the masses fundamentally, however, for two reasons: first, it has often been marked by inefficiency and misdirection; second, it is felt that the churches' theory is wrong—that conditions ought to be ameliorated collectively; that the churches should attack poverty and other material evils in their causes and not only in their results. And finally, the churches' old-time beneficent activity in politics has been allowed to lapse, with the result that needed reforms have felt seriously the lack of their support; and further, the degradation of politics as it is practised is charged partly, if not mainly, to the churches having withdrawn from it and turned it over to the realm of the "secular."

PART III

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

THE PROBLEM

We turn now to the relations of organized Christianity to socialism, a point which we have postponed for separate discussion on account, first, of its intrinsic importance, and, second, because there is at present an urgent need of a direct and plain discussion of a subject on which there is so much loose thinking and writing.

The burden of much of the socio-ecclesiastical agitation of the day is that Christianity and socialism are identical; or that their aims, or, at any rate, their spirit, are the same. It is, therefore, insisted that Christian ministers should support the socialist movement, or, at least, should be in sympathy with it. Whereas the truth is that Christianity and socialism are diametrically opposite in method, aims, and spirit; that the Christian minister not only cannot support it consistently, but cannot even be in sympathy with it, and must oppose its extension for the same reason that he opposes the spread of pure materialism, or anything else which is entirely incompatible with the fundamental theses of

his religion. The plausible claims of socialism to the support of Christianity are based on a simple logical inversion, which will be discussed later.

The false position here under examination is squarely stated in the Rev. R. J. Campbell's book, "Christianity and the Social Order." "The words of Jesus," he says, "may fairly be regarded as the spiritual presentation of the aims of modern socialism. Socialism is far nearer to original Christianity than the Christianity of the churches. The objective of socialism is that with which Christianity began its history. Socialism is actually a swing back to the Gospel of the Kingdom of God; the traditional theology of the churches is a departure from it."[1] The common objective of Christianity and of socialism is the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth. As it has been put by a German scholar, Oscar Holtzmann,[2] "there can be no manner of doubt that the fundamental ideals of socialism are to be referred back to Jesus"; also by the Italian Nitti:[3] "the Christian ideal is in no way opposed to the socialistic ideal."

[1] Campbell, *l. c.*, 279, 19, 147, 173.
[2] Cited in Peabody, *l. c.*, 287.
[3] Nitti, "Catholic Socialism," 20.

There are two facts which, in the absence of adequate explanation, raise a *prima facie* case against these claims: first, the most representative socialists are alienated from the churches and hostile to them and to Christianity; second, the churches are, with scarcely an exception, opposed to socialism. This mutual antagonism may be due to mere misunderstanding, or it may be due to inherent incompatibility. But let us first consider the facts.

CHAPTER I

ATHEISTIC SOCIALISM

SOCIALISM is more than indifferent to spiritual religion; it has become a distinct substitute for it. Its organizations usually meet on Sunday, that being the only day of leisure its adherents usually have. It has regularly organized Sunday-schools, in which the children are instructed, by the most approved methods of lesson leaves and catechism, in the fundamental principles of the economic creed. Evenings at the socialist clubs have taken the place of the old church meetings. It is said in the factories in Germany: "What Jesus Christ has been in the past, Bebel and Liebknecht will be in the future."[1] Says Le Rossignol:[2] "In these days, when we have a psychology without a soul, let it not be thought strange that we have a religion without a god. Like most religions, socialism has its prophet and its book. The

[1] Göhre, *l. c.*, 112.

[2] James E. Le Rossignol, "Orthodox Socialism," 5; *cf.* Nitti, *l. c.*, 22; also Yves Guyot, "La comédie socialiste," for humorous account of socialist parties, "Pope," etc. Guyot himself displays all the graces (?) of theological controversy.

prophet is Karl Marx; the book is 'Capital.' Like all religions it has its creed, which the orthodox hold with the utmost dogmatism and intolerance." This attitude can have but one meaning: "The acceptance of social revolution as a religion is a practical indictment of the religious teaching of the Christian church." [1] A man can have but one religion at a time.

Although socialist programmes usually insist that "Religion is a private matter," [2] their most representative leaders have not hesitated to give frequent public utterance to their views on the subject. These expressions, in the absence of refutation by leaders at least as authoritative, must be taken as representative of the attitude of the party, "99 per cent. of which," says Morris Hilquit,[3] "is agnostic."

Although Karl Marx, in his "Capital," is rather guarded in his expressions on religion, it is evident he regarded it as an illusion, growing

[1] Peabody, *l. c.*, 298.

[2] That socialists themselves admit this expression to be an evasion is evidenced by the discussion at the Convention of the American Socialist Party at Chicago, in 1908, at which the expression was rejected from the Platform. A delegate said (*Chicago Daily Socialist*, May 16, 1908): "Religion is a sociological question, an anthropological question, a question of chronology, of economics, of theosophy. There are few forms of modern thought that do not directly affect the question of religion, and when you say that it is merely a question of the private conscience, you fly in the face of the science and learning of your day."

[3] *Chicago Daily Socialist*, May 16, 1908.

out of humanity's failure to comprehend relations which are socially irrational and therefore logically incomprehensible. He says:[1] "The religious reflex of the real world can, in any case, only then finally vanish when the practical relations of every-day life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow-men and to Nature." August Bebel insists that there is no use in having any religion at all. "The revolution," he says,[2] "differs from its predecessors in this, that it does not seek for new forms of religion; it denies religion altogether." It has no need for any of the ceremonies and symbols of religious organization. Mr. E. Belfort Bax, probably the most brilliant of the thorough-going English socialists, says,[3] "the Positivist seeks to retain the forms after the beliefs of which they are the expression have lost all meaning for him. The socialist whose social creed is his only religion requires no travesty of Christian rites to aid him in keeping his ideal before him."

In the socialist mind, "Science analyzes God like any other natural phenomenon," according

[1] Marx, "Capital" (Eng. Tr., Humboldt Pub. Co.), 33.
[2] Cited in Peabody, *l. c.*, 16.
[3] Bax, "The Religion of Socialism," 52.

to Yves Guyot,[1] a representative of the radical French school. "God is simply a psychological phenomenon. Instead of God having created man, it is man who has created God. Religion is insanity." The atheism of socialism was recognized even by the "Christian Socialist," Pastor Todt, who thought that, with that exception, it was in conformity with the Gospel.[2] It is taken for granted by Bebel, although he maintains that it is not the product of socialism, but of the entire thought of the nineteenth century.[3] "The socialist ideal will cease to have for its object God and another world, and be brought back to its original sphere of social life and this world." [4] There is a necessary conflict between civilization based on law and that based on religion.[5]

The religion of Jesus, according to more moderate socialists, has been completely perverted from its original intention, and the church, instead of being the poor man's institution, has become the exclusive property and support of

[1] Guyot, "Etudes sur les doctrines sociales du christianisme" (3d ed., 1892), xliii, 12, 20. This book displays throughout the most intense and partisan bitterness toward religion.

[2] Peabody, *l. c.*, 61; F. Mehring, "Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie," 2ter Auf., 2ter T., 2ter Abt., 131.

[3] Cited in Kaufmann, *l. c.*, 194; *cf.*, on circumstances which inevitably gave socialism an atheistic turn, Mehring, *l. c.*, 128.

[4] Bax, *l. c.*, 36.

[5] Guyot, *l. c.*, v.

capitalism. Thus De Laveleye says:[1] "By a complete misapplication of its ideas, the religion of Christ, transformed into a temporal and sacerdotal institution, has been called in, as the ally of caste, despotism, and the ancient régime, to sanction all social inequalities."

But this charitable attitude does not long persist. This "misapplication" is soon identified with original Christianity, and then "social democracy turns against Christ and the church because it sees in them only a means of providing a religious foundation for the existing economic order," as Naumann puts it.[2]

Our quotations in the last paragraph have come from "Christian" socialists—men who are much better Christians than socialists. More genuinely socialist characterizations are these: "Christianity and capitalism; the two curses of our time." "The cross, once the symbol of civilization, is now the symbol of slavery."[3] Bax writes:[4] "The theology they (the socialists) detest is so closely entwined with the current mode of production that the two must stand or fall together." Or, more fully, "The religious aspect of capitalistic civilization is dogmatic

[1] De Laveleye, "L'avenir religieux des peuples civilisés," 25.
[2] Cited in Peabody, *l. c.*, 17.
[3] Cited in Kaufmann, *l. c.*, 3.
[4] Bax, *l. c.*, 81, 77.

Protestantism. The Reformation which began among the middle classes has continued, generally speaking, to coincide with them. The predominantly commercial states of Christendom are the predominantly Protestant ones, while even in Catholic countries the main strength of the Protestant minority lies in the trading classes. The religious creed of the capitalist bourgeoisie is dogma, minus sacerdotalism. The religious creed of the land-owning aristocracy is sacerdotalism, with a nominal adhesion to dogma. The watchword of the one is, an infallible church; the standard of the other, an infallible Bible. The Romish or High-Anglican squire represents incarnate land, on its religious side; the Baptist haberdasher, incarnate capitalism." This is not intended for mere facetiousness, but for serious reasoning—which is our justification for quoting it at length. "Christianity is the religion of private property and of the respectable classes," says Liebknecht.[1] "Christianity as seen in this country," says Hyndman, an Englishman,[2] "is merely the chloroform agency of the confiscating classes. Consequently the workmen are daily turning more and more against its professors." "In

[1] Cited in Peabody, *l. c.*, 19.
[2] Letter in Kaufmann, *l. c.*, 223.

Protestantism," says Bax,[1] "the supremacy of individualism in religion, its antagonism to the old social religions, reaches its highest point of development. Protestantism is the middle class version of Christianity; Puritanism, the insular commentary on this version. The working classes see plainly enough that Christianity, in all its forms, belongs to the world of the past and the present, but not to the world of the future which signifies their emancipation."

This opposition to the principles of Christianity is carried further into a desire to suppress every manifestation of them, and is expressed in terms which savor of blind hatred and utter scorn. Benoit Malon, one of the leaders of French socialism, writes:[2] "To suppress religion which promises an illusory happiness is to establish the claims of real happiness, for to demonstrate the non-existence of these illusions tends toward suppressing a state of things which requires illusions for maintaining its own existence." Says Engels:[3] "The first word of religion is a lie." Marx is reported [4] as saying: "The idea of God must be destroyed; it is the keystone of a perverted civilization.

[1] Bax, *l. c.*, 28, 56, 99.
[2] In "Nouveau parti," Vol. I, p. 34.
[3] Cited in Peabody, *l. c.*, 16.
[4] In *Pall Mall Magazine*, Vol. V, p. 680, *note*.

The true root of liberty, of equality, of culture, is atheism." "It is useless blinking the fact," says Bax,[1] "that the Christian doctrine is more revolting to the highest moral sense of to-day than the Saturnalia of the cult of Proserpina could have been to the conscience of the early Christians."

"Religion is a staple ingredient of bourgeois family life in this country (England). It constitutes the chief amusement of the women of the family. In contemporary British social life the church or chapel is the rendezvous or general club for both sexes; a marriage bureau; a fashionable lounge." [2] A tone like this must be encouraging to those who would identify socialism and Christianity. "A child or person intellectually incapable, either naturally or through ignorance, or both, comes under the influence of the Salvation Army or the worst kind of Catholic priest, it matters not which, is terrified by threats of the wrath of God into 'conversion,' becomes the slave of General Booth or the 'Church,' is warped morally and mentally for life, and in the worst case possibly driven to religious mania." [3] This inevitably suggests the possibility of combining Christian and socialist Sunday-schools. Socialism "utterly despises the 'other world'

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Bax, *l. c.*, 140. [3] *Ibid.* 114.

with all is stage properties—that is, the present objects of religion."[1] The churches' attitude toward the world is fundamentally wrong and has led inexorably to their failure. Thus Herron,[2] an American: "The collective attitude of the Church toward God and his world is precisely the attitude of the Pharisees and Sadducees that wrought the destruction of the Jewish church and nation in the day of its visitation." "The success of Christianity as a moral force," adds Bax,[3] "has been solely upon isolated individuals. In its effect upon society at large it has signally and necessarily failed."

That the socialists are always unfair to the social efforts of clergymen is notorious. In Germany the ministers are referred to as the "spiritual police," the "black dragoons," etc., and everything they propose or advocate is suspected and affirmed to be in the interests of the capitalistic class. One of the main reasons for the weakness of Stöcker's influence is simply the fact that he is a Protestant clergyman. In France the feeling is the same now as when, during the great Revolution, a thoughtful proposal of the Abbé Sieyès was defeated merely because it emanated from a priest. In England

[1] Bax, *l. c.*, 52.
[2] Herron, "The Christian Society," 62.
[3] Bax, *l. c.*, 98.

and in America the clergy have been the subject of constant villification at the hands of socialists until recently. Now, in view of the possibility of enlisting some of the clergy in active propaganda work, the official tone of socialism is somewhat moderating.

It is being said, for example, that the past utterances of the revolutionary party do not imply any disrespect for Christianity, but only for "churchianity." The workingmen, it is said, have great reverence for Christ, even though sometimes combined with disrespect for the churches. "One thing alone is left them—respect and reverence for Jesus Christ." John Spargo, perhaps the leading American socialist, gave utterance to this new attitude at the "Sagamore Conference" in 1908. The opposition of socialists, he said, is not to Christianity, but to the churches' infidelity to the teachings of Christ. "The churches now are swinging back to religion and away from theology. They are coming to attach far more importance to man's deeds than to his beliefs." But it is extremely difficult for a socialist to maintain this conciliatory strain very long. Mr. Spargo continued: "Yet it is still true that, among the prominent 'Christians' in every city, will be found many of the worst exploiters of labor, owners of man-

killing tenements, corrupters of legislatures, and leaders of political machines that traffic in votes and draw tributes from gambling hells and brothels."

Jesus, say these harmonizers, would have been a socialist if he were living to-day.[1] And herein lies a key to an understanding of this situation, in so far as the attempt at "harmony" is sincere. The socialists have a reverence for the Christ who would have been a socialist if living to-day; but that is not the Christ of history, and most socialists know it, and are consequently utterly devoid of the respect with which they are fondly credited by enthusiastic evangelists and unobservant men of the study. That there are individual socialists who are religious is, of course, indisputable; but the attitude of the movement as a whole is unquestionably anti-religious. Robert Hunter said recently:[2] "There is a church in this country which is going more and more to attack socialism along this line (the religious), and I do not want to have to discuss it." The reason for this diffidence is not far to seek.

The whole socialist attitude is admirably summed up in these words quoted by Kauf-

[1] Cited in Peabody, *l. c.*, 65.
[2] *Chicago Daily Socialist*, May 16, 1908.

mann [1] from an anonymous pamphlet: "I cannot agree with you in the view you take that Christianity and socialism are the same thing. Christianity and socialism are opposed to each other as fire and water. The so-called good kernel in Christianity, which you, not I, discover in it, is not Christian, but merely human, and the peculiarity of Christianity, the bulk of its dogmas and doctrines, is inimical to humanity."

[1] Kaufmann, *l. c.*, 160.

CHAPTER II

"CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM"

AS for the attitude of the churches toward socialism, its unfriendliness, proclaimed from the housetops by the out-and-out socialists, is admitted even by the "Christian socialists." In France and in Belgium the Catholic social movement is the bitter enemy of socialism. "The great contest of the end of the century," said the secretary of a Belgian Catholic workers' congress, "will be between Catholicism and socialism." Pope Leo XIII, in his famous Encyclical, has committed the Catholic Church against it. In England the High-Anglicans have had little to do with socialism, and the free churches even less. In America few churches have as yet awakened to the fact of its existence. Prominent ministers can be found in every city, S.T.B.'s and D.D.'s, who have not the faintest idea what socialism really is. "In every country," according to Mr. Campbell,[1] "it is the same story: the churches are one thing, the

[1] Campbell, *l. c.*, 19.

socialist movement is another; despite individual instances of clerical socialism, official Christianity is not only quite distinct from socialism; the two are antagonistic."

The "individual instances" to which Mr. Campbell refers are probably those like Maurice and Kingsley, Von Ketteler, Huber, and the rest, who originated the "Christian socialist" movement. For our purposes it is not necessary to go into the history of this interesting development;[1] but one aspect of it is of great significance to us: the hostility between it and real socialism. In Germany and in France "Christian socialism" was met by the fanatical hatred of the materialistic socialists. It works against the undisguised contempt of the Social Democracy and the Socialist Party. Its inception was accompanied by the rise of a radical development of anarchical socialism. In England and America also it has been opposed by the genuine socialists.

There are two reasons for this. In the first place, "Christian socialism" is not socialism at all, but merely a system of voluntary coöperation, with or without clerical supervision. The

[1] The best work on this subject is still Kaufmann, "Christian Socialism." See also Nitti, "Catholic Socialism"; Ely, "French and German Socialism," 245; Peabody, *l. c.*, 21; Arthur V. Woodworth, "Christian Socialism in England."

Catholic "Christian socialists" in Germany, France and Belgium propose to improve industrial conditions by placing them under the direct management of the church. Protestant "Christian socialism" proposes merely the more consistent application of Christian ethics to the conduct of business. In neither case is there a very definite economic program. There are wide varieties of opinion among "Christian socialists" as to what they really expect to do, and their utterances on the subject are extremely vague. The only real economist they have ever claimed is Adolph Wagner, of the University of Berlin; and *his* affiliation with them is extremely tenuous.

The nearest approach to an economic principle behind the English school of Maurice and Kingsley is the conviction of the unchristian character of the prevailing economic system. It deplores the evil results of competition, and would improve the present system by legal restriction and regulation, or by the introduction of wider coöperation, but would not abolish it. The movement in England did, in fact, finally go off into coöperation of the Rochdale kind.[1] Kaufmann says that in Germany the "Christian Social Party" would better have been

[1] Vansittart Neale, in Ely, "French and German Socialism," 252.

called "The Defenders of Society on Church and State Principles." According to Mehring, the historian of the German Social Democracy, Christian socialism was bound to fail because it aimed, not at a normal evolution in the modern capitalistic process, but rather at a reversion to a feudal-patriarchal system.

All this, of course, has nothing to do with "orthodox" socialism. The cardinal tenets of scientific socialism are these:[1] public ownership and control of the means of production, and common control of distribution, submission to both of which must be compulsory. Here is a very definite and tangible program, backed up by an extremely ingenious economic analysis which has been worked out by some of the keenest thinkers the world has produced.[2] "The system of doctrines worked out by Marx," said a professor at the University of Chicago,[3] "is characterized by a certain boldness of conception and a great logical consistency." It is

[1] The chief source is, of course, Karl Marx, "Capital." A good study based on this is J. E. Le Rossignol, "Orthodox Socialism." The best presentation, for Americans, from a socialist, is John Spargo, "Socialism"; from an "orthodox" economist, R. T. Ely, "Socialism and Social Reform."

[2] Ely, "F. and G. Socialism," chapters on Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle.

[3] Veblen, "The Socialist Economics of Karl Marx," *Quar. Jour. Ec.*, Vol. XX, p. 575. Mr Veblen is now (1909) at Leland Stanford University.

quite a different thing, indeed, from the tentativeness and vagueness of "Christian socialism."

The second, and fundamental, reason for the hostility between Christian and orthodox socialism is simply the fact that the former, in its best estate, is religious and the latter is not. Christian "socialism" insists on the infusion of a new spiritual influence; it relies on self-effacement and self-denial rather than on self-assertion and self-seeking. It insists, especially on the Continent, in maintaining a connection between industry and the church. And the wiser "Christian socialists," like Périn,[1] know that there can be no lasting union of the materialistic economic program of Marx and his followers with the spiritual influence of Jesus. "Those doctrines which pretend to free mankind from the service of God (*du joug divin*) lead it to slavery and misery." [2]

[1] Charles H. X. Périn, "Doctrines économiques depuis un siècle," especially chapter xii. *Cf.* also Périn, "Les lois de la société chrétienne, I, 458, sqq.

[2] Périn, "Doctrines économiques," 208.

CHAPTER III

INHERENT INCOMPATIBILITIES

WE find in the failure of "Christian socialism" a hint as to the source of the mutual antagonism between the churches and the socialists. There is a fundamental difference between Christianity as taught by Christ and orthodox socialism. We will now proceed to a study of this difference.

1. *Early Christianity and Socialism*

IN the first place, was Jesus a socialist? Renan said that "in one view Jesus was an anarchist." [1] Later he adds, Jesus's conception of the world was "socialist with a Galilean coloring." Unless it was the Galilean coloring which converted his anarchism into socialism, both these statements cannot possibly be true.

To find any economics at all, to say nothing of socialist economics, in the teaching of Jesus, we should have to revise radically the current definition of the term. Naumann says: [2] "Je-

[1] Cited in Peabody, *l. c.*, 58. [2] *Ibid.*, 62.

sus was, on moral grounds, a radical enemy of capital." If the accuracy of this view were granted—which it cannot be by any sound exegesis[1]—that fact alone would not prove him a socialist in the scientific sense, although it would accord well with the popular socialist conception of socialism. Nor is Luke necessarily "frankly socialistic" [2] in his way of presenting Jesus's words: "Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled; Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the Kingdom of God." Socialism is not enmity to the rich and sympathy for the poor; it is a scheme of production and distribution. Jesus was not a socialist; and the statement of Bax, that the "introspective and subjective teaching of Jesus and of Christianity is anti-socialistic" [3] is far nearer the truth than the rash claims so often put forth by ardent propagandists and zealous harmonizers. As Professor Peabody puts it: [4] "the supreme concern of Jesus was not the reorganization of human society, but the disclosure to the human soul of its relation to God. Instead of regeneration by organization, Jesus offers regeneration by inspiration."

It is said, however, that the churches should

[1] Ante, p. 66.
[2] Campbell, *l. c.*, 77.
[3] Bax, *l. c.*, 96.
[4] Peabody, *l. c.*, 77, 90.

favor the tendency to communism, because communism was the early Christian policy.[1] It is the consensus of opinion, however, of conservatives and radicals alike, that communism has no justification in the Scriptures;[2] that community of life but not of goods was the precept and practice in the early church. It is certain that there was none of the modern economic theory behind its communism, as even Mr. Campbell admits.[3]

Communism under religious auspices has been tried in every century, including the nineteenth, and has failed utterly as a solution of the social question.[4] And the real socialists are the first to insist that religious communism has nothing in common with their economic proposals;[5] so that the theory and practice of the churches on this point have nothing to do with our present subject.

[1] Rauschenbusch, *l. c.*, 388.

[2] Peabody, *l. c.*, 23, and Bibliography, 26, *note.*

[3] Campbell, *l. c.*, 113, 176; Crapsey, *l. c.*, 129.

[4] For sympathetic study, see William A. Hinds, "American Communities"; John H. Noyes, "History of American Socialisms"; Charles Nordhoff, "Communistic Societies of the United States."

[5] Karl Kautsky, "Die Vorläufer des Neueren Sozialismus"; Karl Hugo, Anhang zu "Die Vorläufer, etc."

2. *Aims*

"The aims of socialism," says Mr. Campbell,[1] "are Christian because they insist on the desirability of getting together instead of keeping apart, on mutual helpfulness instead of mutual hindrance." This is excellent Christianity, but very poor socialism. Christianity has always opposed separative forces, and that is just one of the reasons why socialism cannot tolerate it. "The first lesson in the catechism of industrial revolution is a lesson in class hatred."[2] "The twin passions of love and hate supply the motive power"[3] in the socialist religion. An essential feature of the socialist philosophy of history is the inevitable antagonism between the capitalistic and the laboring classes, a gulf which nothing can bridge, and which can be closed only by a cataclysmic revolution. "Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital," writes the high-priest Marx, "who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this, too,

[1] Campbell, *l. c.*, 151. [2] Peabody, *l. c.*, 306.
[3] Le Rossignol, "Orthodox Socialism," 6.

grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." [1]

Occasionally a radical socialist, representing but a small minority of the party, but in perfectly good standing with it, will give voice to a faith in physical force which verges on terroristic anarchism. Thus Mr. Hyndman writes: [2] "Chemistry has placed at the disposal of the desperate and needy cheap and powerful explosives, the full effects of which are as yet unknown. Every day adds new discoveries in this field; the dynamite of ideas is accompanied in the background by the dynamite of physical force. These modern explosives may easily prove to

[1] Marx, "Capital," 487.

[2] Henry M. Hyndman, "The Historical Basis of Socialism in England," 443.

capitalism what gunpowder was to feudalism." This is "getting together" with a vengeance!

The aim of Christianity is essentially different from that of socialism. The former is idealistic; the latter materialistic. "Seek ye first his kingdom and his righteousness," the cardinal principle of Christianity, is contemptuously referred to by Bax [1] as "the dreamy introspection of a Syrian mystic." The socialist aims at materialistic satisfaction, the Christian at spiritual perfection. It is not true, as so often asserted by socialists, that Christianity is exclusively a religion of individual salvation and of the other world. It is a religion intended for us who happen to live in this world, and it recognizes that a "salvation by character" must necessarily be, from one point of view, social. But the essential point is that Christianity proposes a salvation, an ideal end, and not a mere redistribution of goods or of opportunity for commercial or industrial advancement. Socialism may ultimately become a question of the equitable distribution of ideal goods, the means of higher culture as the results of a better civilization; but that is only an incident, a remote hope.

The ends immediately proposed by socialism are very far indeed from being idealistic: at

[1] Bax, *l. c.*, 175.

present it is admittedly a "stomach question." The immediate aim of socialism is economic; that of religion is spiritual.

3. *Methods*

There is also a fundamental difference of method. Socialism proposes an external revolution in the form of society and the mechanism of industry; Christianity proposes an internal reformation and the reform of society by organic evolution. In the Christian view the essential thing for a good government is the worth of the individuals administering it; socialism says that the essential thing for the individual is the nature of his government. Mr. Campbell says:[1] "Jesus denied that there could be such a thing as an individualist righteousness, a righteousness entirely between man and God, and not between man and man." This is true so far as it goes, but it is only half true, and is not squarely to the point. "The social teaching of Jesus is this: that the social order is not a product of mechanism but of personality, and that personality fulfils itself only in the social order."[2] This is the doctrine which the thorough-going socialist attacks. Bax says that the Christian doctrine that all

[1] Campbell, *l. c.*, 123.

[2] Peabody, *l. c.*, 102.

change must come from the individual, that reform must come from within, is "in striking defiance of the teaching of history." [1] The answer to this comes from history and common sense. Society and institutions are made up of individuals; and although it is unquestionable that the form of society reacts upon the character of individuals, no change ever has or ever can come to the former except as the result of changes in the latter.

The essence of "Christian socialism" is summed up in the proposition of Baader [2] that, if you want to abolish misery among the poor, you must first destroy sin in yourself and then in others. Social wrongs are due ultimately to sin—to selfishness and improvidence. Professor Ross even makes the social effect of conduct the only test of its "sinfulness." But the real socialist can admit none of this. The evils of society are the product of blind economic forces. His philosophy is entirely different from that of the Christian. The socialist is a fatalist to whom history is but the mechanical unfolding of a cosmic process in which human will, human consciousness, human ideals, are but the

[1] Bax, *l. c.*, 130.

[2] Baader, "Ueber die Zeitschrift Avenir und Ihre Principien," Werke, VI, 31. (L'Avenir was the organ of Lamennais, the great French "Christian socialist.")

resultants of economic and social forces, and in which consequently there can be no such thing as sin, in any real sense. There can be no sin in the absence of freedom of the will; and the will which is merely the creature of circumstances is not free. "In the materialistic (Marxian) conception," says Veblen,[1] "man's spiritual life—whatever man thinks—is a reflex of what he is in the material respect." And Marx himself says:[2] "The ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." Man's aspirations, his morality, his religion, are all the outcome of his environment—which is, therefore, his master. But the idealist knows that man can and should be the master of his environment, "the captain of his fate." "Facts" are not as stubborn as they seem. "Ideas can be quite as stubborn as any particular facts, can outlast them, and, in the end, abolish them."[3] One-sided emphasis on either is a mistake; but it is better to err on the spiritualistic than on the materialistic side.

The world of Jesus is one in which "inequality is an essential aspect of human life."[4] As

[1] Veblen, *Quar. Jour. Ec.*, Vol. XX, p. 580.
[2] Marx, "Capital," xvii.
[3] Josiah Royce, "The World and the Individual," I, 287.
[4] Peabody, *l. c.*, 290.

we have already seen, spiritual and material inequality are the very foundations of the churches' missionary, charitable, and social work. In a wise view, the churches take equality for an ideal; but to ignore the present state of inequality would be not only foolish but cruel. Socialism also aims at an equality of some kind, although its precise nature would be very difficult to disentangle from the mass of conflicting proposals on the subject. There is, however, an essential difference between it and the kind of equality Christianity holds in view, and consequently a difference in the methods by which they are to be attained. The socialist aims at an *average* level; the Christian tries to raise all to the *top*. The socialist would elevate the "masses," and, if necessary, to that end would depress the "classes"; Christianity would raise all together to ideals higher than the present highest actuality.

It must be remembered that Christianity as such has nothing to do with details of social method. Jesus did not propose a particular economic scheme, but a way of life which should be lived under any system. He did, to be sure, propose a system of moral principles which might be applied as a test to any scheme, social, economic, or religious; and any scheme which

meets the requirements of this test might, in a sense, be called Christian. As we shall see, socialism does not and cannot meet these requirements. It makes no pretense of doing so. The social democracy is an entirely new conception of life. "Socialism," says Bax,[1] "is essentially neither religious nor irreligious, inasmuch as it reaffirms the unity of human life." Christianity affirms this unity also, but Christianity is essentially religious. Christianity insists that the spirit in the machinery of production and distribution shall be the spirit of brotherhood; but it has nothing to say about the construction of the machinery. It says: get the power, and you can make almost any kind of a machine work. Socialism, on the other hand, is concerned mainly with a special design of machine. It says: make your machine right, and the power will take care of itself. But physics, as well as religion, is against the socialist.

4. *Moral Values*

There are also fundamental differences between the ethics of Christianity and of socialism. The Christian type of social union is "a true brotherhood founded on devotion and self-

[1] Bax, *l. c.*, 48, 53.

sacrifice." [1] It is only on such a basis as this that civilized society, with its ever-growing sociality and interdependence, can exist at all. Now self-denial is essentially a religious quality. It must find its basis, if anywhere, in an ideal, superhuman [2] system, such a system as the socialist philosophy must deny. One of the inherent self-contradictions in socialism, which could not but be fatal to its workability, is its dependence (as a system of production) upon an unselfish idealistic devotion to secure purely selfish and materialistic ends. It demands perfect coöperation from consummate egoists. It would be absurd and unjust to deny that there are many thoughtful enthusiasts now working for socialism who are not only not in it for personal gain, but, in fact, suffer loss, and even martyrdom, in behalf of their cause. But, on the other hand, any one who has ever attended a socialist meeting must have been struck with the crass selfishness of the majority of the socialists present, and their bitter hatred of capital, apparently based mainly on their lack of it.

When the American Federation of Labor passed resolutions [3] endorsing the Presbyterian

[1] Kaufmann, *l. c.*, 35.
[2] Benjamin Kidd, "Social Evolution," for elaboration of this idea.
[3] Stelzle, 30 "*Ann. Am. Ac.*," 460.

Department of Church and Labor, it was on the ground of its "insuring a better understanding on the part of the church and the clergy of the aims and objects of the labor union movement in America." They saw a chance to *get* something, for which it never occurred to them that they owed anything in return. The Federation of Labor is not a socialist body, nor does it go as far as the socialists in its self-assertiveness. Social revolution insists on rights, and would abolish duties. As claimed by one of its advocates, Oscar Wilde:[1] "The chief advantage that would result from the establishment of socialism is, undoubtedly, the fact that socialism would relieve us from that sordid necessity of living for others which, in the present condition of things, presses so hardly upon almost everybody." Périn[2] describes socialism as "a utilitarian arrogance which brings into play every kind of selfishness and makes liberty as maleficent as despotism."

Socialism, in fact, proposes a new transvaluation of all moral values. "All the virtues in the Christian armory," says Mr. Campbell,[3] "are more likely to prove a hindrance than a help to

[1] Wilde, "The Soul of Man under Socialism," *Fortnightly Rev.*, Vol. LV, p. 292.

[2] Périn, "Doctrines economiques," 207.

[3] Campbell, *l. c.*, 208.

getting the wage earner into the ranks of the employers"; and as socialism aims to make every one the employer of every one else, the sooner such virtues are cast aside as obsolete the better. Honesty loses its meaning in the hands of even a "Christian socialist": for what must one think of Mr. Campbell's ingenious scheme of buying out all private businesses in order to avoid the appearance of confiscation, and then depriving the money paid for them of all exchange value?[1] In the socialist philosophy, according to Guyot,[2] theft becomes a positive virtue. Of course, this is perfectly logical in a system which denies the *right* of private property, though it may permit it as a favor. Perhaps it is right to "expropriate the expropriators"; but if the first expropriation was wrong, it is difficult to see how the proposed one can be any better.

Bax says of Christianity:[3] "in its praise of industry and thrift it is decidedly anti-socialistic." Industry and thrift tend toward the amelioration of one's lot under the present system, and thus to make one less discontented with this system; therefore, by socialist logic,

[1] *Ibid.*, 192, 219.

[2] Guyot, "La comédie socialiste," 72 (*L'appropriation sociale*).

[3] Bax, *l. c.*, 94.

"for a town or country laborer to practise thrift would be absolutely immoral." [1] Similarly with charity. "Charity is worse than useless; systematically practised it is a demoralizing influence." [2] Rescue work is also futile. The humanitarian work of the churches, since it attacks symptoms and not causes, is an entire waste of energy. Altruism only aggravates social distress.[3] The only possible ground for these conclusions must be some such theory as that, if you cannot cure a disease outright, it is an injury to attempt to alleviate the suffering.

Patience is, of course, a bourgeois virtue invented to keep the proletariat from getting in a hurry to walk into their inheritance. "So long as Christianity ruled the minds of men the idea of revolution was rejected as a sinful revolt against divinely constituted authority," according to Kautsky. A religion of suffering, humility, and resignation is opposed to class pride and class antagonism, and consequently can find no sympathizers among those to whom humility and resignation are vices, and suffering a crime for which the rich must be made to pay the penalty.

"The morose priggishness involved in the

[1] Wilde, *l. c.*, 29.
[2] Campbell, *l. c.*, 165, 268, 166.
[3] Wilde, *l. c.*

reverential attitude of mind which is *de rigueur* with Protestantism"[1] also comes in for a share of attention. "The notion of reverence," says Bax, "like that of personal religion, is the creation of that middle class order which took its first rise in the sixteenth, and has culminated in the world of the nineteenth century."

In the opinion of many socialists, the institution of the family is incompatible with industrial democracy, so it would have to go also. The family took its origin together with private property and is bound up with that institution. Woman cannot enjoy that economic freedom which is every one's birthright in the socialist state so long as she is hampered by marriage. Personal purity is a strictly individualistic matter, and therefore non-moral.[2]

These conceptions are not merely the vagaries of revolutionary minds. They are logical deductions from a definite philosophy of history and of life. They are the inevitable accompaniments of an ethic of egoism, just as the principles of Christianity are the natural outcome of an ethic of idealism.

[1] Bax, *l. c.*, 177, 31.

[2] August Bebel, "Woman"; William Morris, "News from Nowhere"; Bax, "Outspoken Essays," etc.; H. G. Walls, "Socialism and the Family."

CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN AND CORRECTION OF THE ERROR

WHY is it that in view of all these considerations it is still possible for thoughtful men to make the mistake of supposing that the teaching of Jesus is not incompatible with socialism? It is probably because, while there is no point of contact between Christianity and socialism on religion, it is felt there may be in matters of social interest. Socialism exemplifies, in its best advocates, a burning aspiration for social justice, for the immediate amelioration of the lot of suffering humanity. "Socialism appeals to justice, and this moral basis of its demands is the common platform upon which Christian and un-Christian socialism meet." [1]

But there is recently manifest a tendency to push this community of interest further than the facts warrant. Justice is admitted to be a virtue by both Christianity and socialism; so it is also by anarchism, and Buddhism, and Mohammedanism; but that is hardly sufficient ground for the assertion that they, therefore, stand on

[1] Kaufmann, *l. c.*, 201.

a common platform. The looseness of thought and of statement which has characterized the discussion of this subject, with a few honorable exceptions, reaches its climax in this eloquent passage of Mr. Campbell's:[1] "Anything that tends toward universal brotherhood is Christian; anything that makes for wider life for all instead of for the few only is Christian; anything that encourages the highest self-expression of the individual in the service of the common good is Christian; anything that tends toward the destruction of selfishness and the demolition of all barriers of privilege between nation and nation or man and man is Christian." True; but Mr. Campbell means to identify these aspirations, which are common to all lovers of mankind, to all thoughtful students of society and of life, exclusively with socialism; and then he concludes that socialism is identical with Christianity! "Harmonization" has performed some wonderful feats in its day; but this seems to be worthy of the crown.

It is a very simple trick, this latest move of socialism. It consists in taking whatever good socialism has derived from Christianity and holding it up to the latter as a model and a test. The socialists absorbed their notions of justice

[1] Campbell, *l. c.*, 148.

from the Christian atmosphere in which they were nurtured; and then Christianity is interrogated, with an injured air, as to why it does not admit its socialism, inasmuch as it teaches the same virtue, justice. This process is handsomely illustrated in *The Christian Socialist*, a magazine published in Chicago. It says:[1] "If you don't want socialism, quit professing to believe in the 'Golden Rule' as a rule of life. If you don't want socialism, do not follow Christ, who said, 'Love one another as I have loved you.' If you don't want socialism, quit repeating the Beatitudes, etc." In other words, the test of real Christianity is its conformity with socialism, because socialism has adopted, as catch-words, some of the mottoes (but none of the spirit) of the religion of Jesus.

Another phase of the manœuvre is admirably exhibited in the quotation just given from Mr. Campbell. Socialism appropriates all the hopes and ideals of all the best thinkers which it can by any possibility fit into, or hang on to, its system; and then reissues them labelled "Socialistic." I suppose that in one sense anything which has to do with social life is "socialistic." But as was shown above, "Socialism" is the name for a specific programme of economic and

[1] *The Christian Socialist*, March 19, 1908.

social action, with definite and easily recognizable features.[1] The substantive "socialism" and the adjective "socialist" should be restricted to this definite system. The adjective "socialistic" could then be used, although still too easily misunderstood, to indicate any economic or social measure, whether "socialist" or not. It would be well if we had another noun, "socialistik," formed on German analogies;[2] to cover all social measures outside of "socialism." State regulation of corporations would then be "socialistic," but very far indeed from "socialist." In fact, in its tendency to foster and protect, by purifying, private enterprise, it would be the direct antithesis of "socialism," which would abolish private enterprise entirely.

Of course the church should recognize the good in socialism, as it should also in its polar opposite anarchism, and in anything else that has any good in it. And although it is not true that "the church has much to learn from socialism,"[3] it can learn much from the origin and history of the movement. As in Germany, the Social Democracy has been called the only champion of the new needs of a new era for the

[1] Ante, p. 104.
[2] *Cf.* "mysticismus" and "mystik."
[3] Mathews, "The Church and the Changing Order," 174.

workingmen,[1] so everywhere the churches' failure to champion these new needs is largely responsible for the infidelity of the masses of the laboring people. As Professor Ely says:[2] "The clergy are partly to blame for the irreligious attitude of many modern socialists"; and there is no doubt in my mind that the growth of socialism and the concurrent decline of the churches are correlated about this centre.

For it is true that there are grave moral dangers inherent in a competitive system to which the church has not in the past paid sufficient attention. The demands of business often permit, not to say encourage, practices which are in direct violation of ethics. In many respects the ethics of commercialism are contrary to the ethics of the church. This of course does not mean that the present system must be abolished; but it does mean that the divergence between the ethics which are most successful in it, and the ethics of Christianity, must be overcome, and that the church is the natural agency through which the reform should be wrought. It is true that some of the virtues of business life—truth, honor, fidelity, loyalty—are also Christian virtues;[3] but

[1] Göhre, "Three Months in a Workshop," 111.
[2] Ely, "French and German Socialism," 23.
[3] Peabody, *l. c.*, 319.

they are not exclusively Christian virtues, and the people see no reason for crediting the churches with such prevalence as they have attained. It is also true—and this is a fact apt to be overlooked by all but the socialists—that these are the virtues of the employee, not necessarily of the employer, in modern industry. The most conspicuous great fortunes of our day were, in general, made precisely through the utter neglect of these virtues—and that, often, by desperately conscientious "Christians." This is matter of common knowledge; and it is about time for the churches' voice to be heard in unmistakable protest against such a condition.

Nor should the churches be surprised that in this day of growing wealth and industry the laborers are demanding a larger share of the enjoyments of life. This is not entirely a demand for mere materialistic satisfaction. Common observation shows that wealth stands for more abundant life while poverty usually means a narrow life. "The greater our communal command of the potentialities of the material world in which we live, the greater the extent of our spiritual possibilities."[1] It is not only easy to be virtuous on ten thousand a year: it is easier to stimulate and satisfy the craving

[1] Campbell, *l. c.*, 234.

for mental, moral and spiritual improvement, if one is inclined that way; and many a man who yearns and works for a better material order does so, not for "pudding and praise," but for the sake of the ideal benefits he expects to derive from it. So far as this is a demand of socialism, it should be recognized as a just demand; and as a just demand it must be included within the principles of Christianity.

Here one must, however, be on his guard about the use of this word "justice." The socialist demands "justice in distribution," and the Christian is inclined at once to say, "Well, of course, we, too, want justice in distribution, so we must be to that extent socialists." But the socialist proposes a number of definite schemes of distribution, *e. g.*, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need"; more specifically he insists that the share of labor in the total product of industry is the whole of the product, inasmuch as labor made it. But a careful analysis will show that the first proposal is not only utterly impracticable, but would not be just, by any customary standard, if it were attainable; while the second overlooks the fact that land and brains and self-denial (saving) are also factors in the production of the world's goods, and are themselves entitled to share in

the product. This whole question of justice as applied to distribution is a difficult one which still awaits treatment at the hands of one who is at once an economist and an ethicist. In the meantime it behooves us not to dogmatize on the subject.

PART IV

WHAT TO DO

THE TASK

It may be that the combination of conservatism and progress which is, or should be, found in the churches may yet save society both from socialism and from industrial and social anarchy. The danger is only that the forces of progress in the churches may be overcome by the forces of retrogression in the future as they have been so often in the past; and that a democratic despotism without the churches may be found preferable to a plutocratic or oligarchic tyranny with them.

The spirit of mutual helpfulness and brotherhood which has been read into socialism is the spirit which must find a manifestation in some form of society sooner or later. It is because the spirit of brotherhood is an essentially idealistic and religious spirit, while the genius of socialism is materialistic and irreligious, that we are unable to find any common ground between it and Christianity, and, in fact, find them utterly opposed to each other. But it still remains for this religious spirit to be fostered and

applied to some economic system, the present one or another, and by some agency, the church or another. When the present churches are seen going about this business, the working-men's confidence in them may be restored—but not before. How the churches can show that they are doing this will now be considered.

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE OPPORTUNITY

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, with characteristic force and acumen, has observed: "The shifting of the churches from the plain people to the rich in the cities must be looked upon with discomfort and alarm."[1] Mr. Charles Booth views the phenomenon with more than discomfort and alarm: in fact, with positive and complete despair. The alienation of the masses is so complete, their indifference to the church is so dense, that the task of winning them back appears very heavy indeed. The hopelessness of it becomes final once the churches are satisfied with the present situation. They have in the past encountered difficulties almost equally staggering, but, by perseverance and enthusiasm, they have succeeded in overcoming them. Their chief danger now seems to lie in a certain perceptible wilful ignorance and indifference.

[1] Hodges and Reichert, "The Administration of an Institutional Church," ix.

In view of the blind optimism of some of the "servants of religion," it is refreshing (or discouraging) to read this clear and sane expression of an "outsider":[1] "Even the philosophic free-thinker cannot look upon that vast change in religious ideas that is now sweeping over the civilized world without feeling that this tremendous fact may have most momentous relations, which only the future can develop. For what is going on is not a change in the form of religion, but the negation and destruction of the ideas from which religion springs. Christianity is not simply clearing itself of superstitions, but in the popular mind it is dying at the root, as the old paganisms were dying when Christianity entered the world. And nothing arises to take its place. The fundamental ideas of an intelligent Creator and of a future life are in the general mind rapidly weakening."

But there are still seven thousand left who have not bowed the knee to Baal; who are certain that religion is the salvation not only of the individual but of society; and that as religion cannot, apparently, long persist except as expressed in some form of organization, the church, in some form or other, must be a permanent feature of civilization, if civilization it-

[1] George, "Progress and Poverty," 539.

self is to live and attain to ever greater heights. The present situation, then, instead of being looked upon as a cause of despair, is rather to be considered a challenge and an opportunity. As Dr. Gordon said: [1] "We are confronted by our greatest opportunity. In the stern days that are before us, in the terrible epoch of the trial of strength between capital and labor, there is an immeasurable opportunity for the church that appeals to man as man, that is no respecter of persons, that claims Lazarus the beggar as a son of God, that reminds Dives that he is nothing more, and that seeks by the Gospel of the Divine Man to lift human society into the mood and power of brotherhood."

There is not now, nor probably ever will be again, such an occasion for theological discussion as some periods of the past have afforded. "Christology" is not the dominant issue of the day, outside of theological conferences and divinity schools. The present opportunity lies, not merely in "the respect of the workingmen for Christ," nor even in the responsiveness of labor to the "simple gospel of the working Jesus," favorable as these conditions are, if true. *The churches' opportunity to-day is social*, and *only* social. The responsiveness of the people

[1] George A. Gordon, "Denominational Memories," 31.

to the gospel is a responsiveness to a social gospel only. It is the outcome of the birth of a new spirit of social aspiration in the ranks of labor, a spirit which would like the sanction of the gospel if the gospel can be shown to conform to it, but which otherwise is not interested in the gospel at all.

Experience has demonstrated that the policy of inviting, scolding, and warning the unchurched is not sufficient. The invitation is declined, the scolding is resented, the warning is ridiculed. If the churches are not to miss their present chance, they must *seek* the people; they must modernize their preaching and their practice, especially along social and economic lines; they must revise and improve their methods in the light of experience; and they must secure abler leaders and preachers.

As the workingmen will not come to the churches, the churches must go to the workingmen. If there is any adaptation to be done, the churches must take the initiative; for, apparently, the people are getting along much better (for awhile, at least) without the churches than the churches can without the people. This policy of seeking the people is especially to be expected in those churches in which the clergy are not a special class in the nature of a sacred aris-

tocracy, but are a "citizen clergy," as in England and America.

There must be an aggressive, intelligent and carefully planned campaign to recapture the masses of the workingmen. The women and children also must not be neglected; for even they, especially business women, are showing signs of failing to respond to the confidence which has for so long been justly placed in them. Nor is it worth while to "build up" one church by merely taking the members out of another. This process may help the individual member, if he finds a better church; but it makes no impression upon society as a whole.

It is truly said that the church must save the immigrant or she cannot save herself.[1] There is a great demand for churchmen of all denominations to work among the foreigners. The immigrant, a stranger in a strange land, is confronted by many difficult problems, in the handling of which a single word from one who knows might sometimes save an infinity of trouble. Here is a chance for Christian work which, if it were more frequently seized upon, would save many an immigrant's faith in religion. To be sure, plans for capturing the foreign Catholic and making a Protestant of him

[1] Stelzle, "Christianity's Storm Centre," 26.

the moment he lands have been carefully worked out; and it has been found that the Italians are open to evangelization. The chief obstacle to this kind of missionary work among the foreigners, according to one of its leaders, is the lack of harmony and coöperation between the Protestant churches.[1] A greater obstacle, as it would appear to the disinterested observer, is that the movement is a case of misdirected effort, so long as its sole aim is the conversion of Catholics to Protestantism. If the Home Missions would direct their energies to keeping the immigrants in active connection with the churches to which they are accustomed; and, better still, if they would devote the same amount of zeal to missionary work among all classes of the population, native as well as foreign, it would seem more in harmony with present needs.

[1] Grose, "Aliens or Americans?"

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL PREACHING

THE churches must offer the people a modern Christianity in harmony with current modes of thought in history and science. Insistence on the traditional theology is an utter failure. Revisions and reinterpretations accomplish but little. The churches must look to the problems of the present rather than of the past. They must not forget that other agencies are at work educating the common people, and that those agents are "right up to date." While religion remains the chief part of the churches' work, they must so broaden their definition of religion as to cover all life; while they must continue the work of character building, it must be placed on a broader basis. They must transfer their onslaught from personal and individual "vice" to social and collective "sin."[1] They must remember that the churches are at least one of the means of social regeneration; that the coming of the Kingdom of God should not

[1] Ross, "Sin and Society."

be brought about exclusively by the schools and the settlements and the labor organizations and the political parties and the "secular" press.

The great problems in the minds of the people to-day are not theological but social problems. The people care not about the disputes of the Higher Criticism, nor about the philosophy of religion, nor even about the place of Christ in theology—the great Christological problem on the solution of which the divines seem to think the world hangs, but about which, as a matter of fact, the greater part of the world cares not at all. The religious problem about which the world is concerned is quite a different matter. "Behind all the extraordinary achievements of modern civilization there lies the burdening sense of social mal-adjustment which creates the social question." [1] The social question is a religious problem in its spirit, though its form is economic. At its root is a "passionate demand for industrial justice"; and *the problem of industrial justice is almost the only ethical problem which the churches have not already settled to the practical satisfaction of all.*[2]

The churches have accomplished their work

[1] Peabody, *l. c.*, 2.

[2] Except the socialists, whose philosophy does not permit them to accept the conclusions of Christian ethics, as shown in Part III.

too well for their own good. The Christian standards of ethics are in the atmosphere and the blood; they have become the conscience of Western peoples. The churches now are saying nothing which the people do not already know. So long as the ministers confine themselves to the old ground of personal morality, it is as though they were to repeat the table of threes every Sunday morning. In ethics they conduct a perpetual kindergarten; when they talk theology they are conducting a seminary in Hebrew for people who don't know an aleph from a carotid artery, and don't care. "Liberty and not theology is the enthusiasm of the nineteenth century," wrote Lecky; and his words are, if possible, truer of the twentieth than of the nineteenth century.

What the people of to-day need, and what the ministers ought to give them, is social preaching, discussion of social and economic matters from the highest ethical and religious point of view. The churches must train a new conscience prepared to meet the new temptations of a commercialized age. "The evolution of conscience has not kept pace with the deepening problems of civilization." [1] These problems are in the domain of social ethics. They de-

[1] Crooker, "The Church of To-day," 142.

mand an intimate acquaintance with the operation of social and economic forces, and a clear and straightforward discussion of them in all their details. The greatest preachers and prophets the world has known dealt directly and intimately with the social conditions of their times. When the ordinary preachers have neglected these, the masses of the people, with unerring instinct, have denied their claim to religious leadership, and have followed "laymen," like Shaftesbury and Phillips and Roosevelt, as their real priests.

It should not be necessary to prove that such preaching is scriptural.[1] That it is so we think has been sufficiently established; but scriptural or not, it must be done if the churches are to perform any useful function in their present environment. There is a great source of social energy in the teachings of the Old and New Testaments, as yet unutilized, but which could be made to meet the revolt of the laboring classes by proving that "the Christian religion is rational, practicable, socially redemptive, and economically justified."[2] The preacher has an opportunity to point out the responsibility of Christians for social conditions, and to train

[1] "Ethical preaching is scriptural." Stelzle, *l. c.*, 61.
[2] Peabody, *l. c.*, 299.

that individual sensitiveness to social obligations which is the most pressing need of the day. The subtle variations of personal responsibility which the complex ramifications of capital permit to-day need to be traced home and definitely insisted upon.[1] The minister must preach "the new evangelism, which aims to reform the social evils and wrongs that breed sinners." [2]

It is unquestionably the duty of the churches to assist in effecting reforms by coöperation with other agencies in the moulding of public opinion; such coöperation requires well-informed social preaching. Perhaps Professor Commons's suggestion that a minister should devote one-half his pulpit work to sociology is not asking too much.[3] Certainly if that were done the ministry would no longer be subject to Professor Veblen's jibe: "What falls within the range of economics falls below the proper level of solicitude of the priesthood in its best estate."

[1] "A striking illustration of the lack of a sense of responsibility which those having capital to invest often evince was brought to light recently in New York City when it was discovered that a prominent church was deriving a part of its revenues from the ownership of some of the worst tenement houses in the city. When those charged with funds to further the mission of Christ can permit them to be invested in insanitary and immoral tenements, not much regard for public welfare is to be expected from ordinary investors." Seager, "Introduction to Economics," 251.

[2] *Outlook*, June 6, 1908.

[3] J. R. Commons, "Social Reform and the Church," 19, 21.

If the preachers made a habit of diligently acquiring and systematically and clearly presenting social facts, they might also be better able to satisfy the present demand for social leaders from the churches. Leadership in social movements is a field from which ministers are conspicuously absent, although in it is an opportunity to get into close touch with the people and with their aims such as the clergy ought not neglect. Hitherto they have been unable to take advantage of this opportunity, not only on account of indifference but more particularly because of ignorance of the nature of the problems with which they would have to deal.

Of course the pulpit must be absolutely non-partisan and impartial in its treatment of social questions. It has no place for the suggestion that "the rich should be driven out of the churches," [1] any more than it should allow the poor to remain out without any effort to regain them. There is no reason why the rich should be neglected; in fact, there are several reasons why they should receive special attention. Moderation, for example, and the refinement of amusements, should be encouraged as virtues in the rich as well as in the poor.

[1] Perry, 4 *Am. Jour. Soc.*, 624.

The churches' treatment of social matters must also be marked by absolute and unflinching justice, so far as they can see it. This is a difficult matter; for often the allocation of the justice is not entirely clear; and when it is fairly obvious, insistence upon it is quite sure to antagonize the side placed in the wrong. Fearlessness toward wealth and "corporate highway robbery" is needed; but an equal fearlessness is necessary toward organized labor and mob rule.

The clergy are bound to mutual sympathy with rich and poor; but the greater need of the poor, and the relative disadvantage of their position, cannot help but sway the "shepherds of the flock" toward the side of the common people. They should make every effort to grasp the significance of the labor movement from the inside; for their position is such that they are not likely to get at the facts without special exertion.

On occasion, the pastor should expect to be the champion of labor. For it must be recognized that labor is not an ordinary commodity. It is the disposal of the souls of men which is involved in settling the market price of labor. It is not inconceivable that a true pastor, whose charge consisted of a large element of laborers,

must at times be drawn irresistibly into what appear superficially to be mere bargaining disputes, mere incidents of the "higgling of the market," but are, in reality, contests over the price of health, strength, brain, character, and life.

This aspect of the subject is full of practical difficulties, and one should be careful to avail oneself of the results of experience, whenever possible. National recognition of organized labor, as by the Presbyterian Church, has had a good effect. It is said that the brilliant discovery that Paul was a member of a labor union produces, when properly handled, a better feeling on the part of the workingmen toward the church.[1] The observance of Labor Sunday has been an unquestionable good. The "people's forum" idea works well, when under tactful but firm leadership. At the Morgan Memorial, in Boston, the Forum meets every Sunday afternoon to listen to a talk on some social question, usually given by a minister. The meeting is then thrown open to the audience, usually composed almost entirely of workingmen, for discussion. In Boston the Forum is a thoroughly democratic institution, and its success grows the longer it operates. In New York

[1] Stelzle, *l. c.*, 67.

the same thing has been tried at the Parish House of the Church of the Ascension, and the same gratifying success is reported.[1] Similar experiments are being tried in other places.

In a former part of this discussion it was seen that a large proportion of the objections the people urge against the churches are simply misunderstandings either of theory or of fact. The minister is in a position to correct these misunderstandings, and this is a part of his work he should by no means neglect. If the minister does not attend to it, no one will. If he cannot get the people into his church to listen to him, he should go to them in their lodges, and in public lecture halls, and in the newspapers, and anywhere else where he can secure their attention. After all, the churches are not quite so bad as the people think; and it is certainly worth while to disseminate some correct information about the facts.

Of course it must be understood that a minister's preaching cannot be exclusively on social subjects. The church must make its appeal to life, and to the whole of life; and, after all, man is a being who stands in some relation personally to God, and that relation is not of second-

[1] Interview with Rev. Percy S. Grant, New York *Sun*, Apr. 19, 1908; *Outlook*, May 16, 1908, p. 113.

ary importance. The church should be "a power-house, where there is generated a supply of spiritual energy sufficient to move the world with wisdom, courage and peace."[1] It still remains true that the church must be a savior first of men, and a savior of society through them. "Behind the problem of social life lies the problem of individual life."[2] There is a great deal to be said in favor of the position that the solution of the social problem lies in the enforcement of the idea of spiritual sonship,[3] especially when a stronger emphasis than usual is laid on its correlate, brotherhood. "Between masters and workmen truly Christian," wrote de Laveleye,[4] "no difficulty could arise; for justice would preside at the distribution of the product."

Especially must the churches, in the interests of the happiness of mankind and the highest ideals of civilization, continue to oppose to the utmost the grosser forms of the materialistic thought of our times. Fortunately, the excesses of that form of thought in its baldest manifestations are already bringing about a reaction. The popular interest in "New Thought,"

[1] Peabody, *l. c.*, 357. [2] George, *l. c.*, 553.

[3] Mathews, "Social Teaching of Jesus," 186; "The Church and the Changing Order," 97; Rauschenbusch, *l. c.*, 48; Gladden, "The New Idolatry."

[4] De Laveleye, "De l'avenir des peuples catholiques," 29.

"Christian Science," and similar movements is encouraging testimony to the recrudescence of spirituality and religion.

But it must be insisted that religion covers all the relations of life and not only a single compartment called "sacred." The fallacious separation between sacred and secular must be absolutely abolished. In season and out of season it must be enforced that, if this is essentially a spiritual universe and not merely a material one, if God is all there is, then spirituality must pervade politics, business, and secular occupations, as well as "religion" and the ministry; that the bank and the factory are as essentially sacred as the church; and that what is evil in the church is evil in the directors' room and on the stock exchange also. The charge that the churches divert interest from evils in this life to reward in the hereafter must be met by insisting that heaven is here if anywhere, and that it is for men to insure the reward of their righteous living, in a happy life. A religion which is good for Sunday only is no religion at all worthy of the name, and the masses of the people to-day know it. The doctrine of immanence must be consistently and assiduously applied to all life. Life is primarily secular; either religion must be secularized, or the secular sanctified.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL PRACTICE

THE ministers' social work should not be limited to their preaching. They should be leaders in the social and philanthropic movements in their neighborhoods. They should exhibit an active "enthusiasm for humanity" of a kind that will show clearly that the churches' purposes are the best good of the whole of humanity. The people will serve the churches so long as the churches serve the people. The churches should embody all the really Christian movements of the world. They should incorporate all the social workers. This does not necessarily mean that the settlements and other "secular" movements for social betterment should be made "religious" in a sense different from that in which they are so now; it means that the churches' definition of religion must be so extended that settlement work will easily be seen to fall under it. The ministers must be brought to see that "mere enthusiasm to save

souls is not sufficient, for all souls reside in bodies," and to accept all the consequences of that quite innegligible fact.

For the churches' interest in the amelioration of social conditions is not merely an ethical or sentimental one. They are vitally interested in the remedying of economic evils, in behalf of the success of their "soul redemptive" work.[1] Change of character and change of environment must go together. Salvation cannot come to a community so long as the plague-spot of the slum remains within it. The churches' influence upon the daily life of the individual depends largely upon his economic conditions. "So long as life is one long scramble for personal gain—still more, when it is one long struggle against destitution—there is no free time or strength for much development of the sympathetic, intellectual, artistic, or religious faculties."[2] Göhre asks pointedly: "How can we be honestly reproachful if a meal in the street is begun without the folded hands of prayer?"

Nor should the churches overlook the influence of economic conditions upon the supply of ministers. In a commercial environment in

[1] Rauschenbusch, *l. c.*, 291.
[2] Webb, "Industrial Democracy," 849.

which success is measured by income, and in which the income of selfishness is great, while that of sacrifice of ability and energy to the good of others is small, it does not require a prophet to predict the result, so far as the profession of pastor is concerned. The decline in the number of young men in training for the ministry, not only in comparison with the numbers being educated for law, medicine, teaching, and business, but absolutely, is notorious. There are fewer men in all the theological schools of the United States to-day than ten years ago.[1] It has been seriously proposed that women must be encouraged to enter the ministry, to occupy the pulpits left vacant by men.[2] The commercial consideration is not the only nor, perhaps, the chief reason for this. The ministry in general is still comparatively free from the taint of money-greed. And yet it is obviously becoming increasingly difficult, as the years go by, to find an adequate number of young men of real ability who are willing to forego the financial benefits which would accrue to them in other professions in favor of the "ideal" income of the ministry.

It ought to be sufficiently evident that if the

[1] Crooker, "The Church of To-day," 50, 59.
[2] *The Christian Advocate* (N. Y.), Nov., 1906.

churches are ever to be composed of the masses of the people, and are to be self-supporting, as in their best estate they should be, the economic conditions must be such that it will be feasible for the masses easily to meet the necessary expenses. Salaries must be adequate, and church buildings must be at least "decently" maintained. These call for money; they require that the church member must have a fair surplus income.

The churches' ministrations, however, should not be merely a bait to win the workingmen. Besides being wrong, this policy never works. Absolute sincerity toward the common man is necessary; the churches must be interested in him for his own sake, and not as a workingman, but as a man. At the same time, they must be very careful of his sensibilities. They must not arouse any suspicion that they are patronizing him. "The church should show the working people that it needs them, not that they need it." [1] It must be careful to avoid the appearance of commercialism in its methods of raising money. Churches, like ministers, are held to an excessive accountability which is never demanded of other institutions or persons.

The minister of a properly constituted church

[1] Judson, 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 438.

is in a peculiarly favorable position to interpret social classes to each other. He can be a real mediator between them. "The creation of a sympathetic relation between the forces of labor and capital is a task of the minister," writes Dr. Evans.[1] Misunderstanding and antipathy between these two forces is partly chargeable to the ministers' neglect of this opportunity.

The churches' interest in the mental as well as the physical capacities of their workers and of the people should make it unnecessary to insist on the performance of their duty as educational centres. The public schools in America make adequate provision for the mental training of those who are able to take advantage of them; but the branches of education which really broaden the outlook upon life are, as a rule, not reached until the high school, and the vast majority of children drop out before arriving at that point. The spread of industrial education, necessary and commendable as that is, threatens further to contract the average child's acquaintance with "the humanities." Each church might well be, so far as possible, a miniature University Extension centre. The clergy of to-day, especially in the "liberal"

[1] Evans, "The Social Work of a Church in a Factory Town," 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 504.

churches, have not neglected wide reference to literature. Literature is good; but what the people need more than Chaucer and Villon is economics and sociology, and these the ministers should be in position to supply. Especially they should be prepared to coöperate in the dissemination of correct principles of relief, and in the diffusion of real information about alcoholism, pauperism, sanitation, etc.

The preacher must avoid becoming a politician. Democracy must be spiritualized, but it must be by the influence of the churches and not by their authority. Religion should be distinguished from government, but not separated from it. Politics is necessarily partisan: that the churches cannot afford to be. Political issues often involve moral questions, and thus come within the jurisdiction of the pulpit; but the preacher must handle them as an ethicist, not as a politician.

CHAPTER IV

MODERN METHODS

IF the new spirit of the churches is thus to be one of predominantly social preaching and social service, the machinery must be moulded anew in accordance therewith. In a progressive age new methods are always necessary, and the churches' traditional slowness and conservatism in regard to them must be overcome. Of course no cast-iron rules can be laid down in advance. Any methods suggested must be practicable for the ordinary church, and they must be subject to modification to fit the needs of the particular neighborhood and time. One thing may be laid down as universally essential: whatever "attractions" the churches offer must be such as either cannot be obtained anywhere else, or else they must be offered in such a way that the people will prefer to accept them from a church. Thus a dance given by a church in an ordinary hall is not different from a dance given by any other organization in a hall, except that by most people it is likely to be dis-

criminated against. Whereas, a dance given by the church in its own halls and under the direction of its own officers, insures a refinement of surroundings which cannot be guaranteed anywhere else, and is a really attractive thing. Similarly, warmth, light and music alone cannot be relied upon, for these may be had elsewhere just as well. These are essential, but there must be added to them other features more attractive than those offered by the churches' competitors. It is of no use merely to duplicate other activities. The churches are bound always to originate or to improve. And they must be extremely careful to make their ventures "go." Failure, like success, is cumulative.

Occasionally, especially among Baptists and Catholics, we find a church held together by strictness and exclusiveness of doctrine and by the terms of church membership, or by a genuine belief in the authority of the church and its divinely appointed priesthood. But, as a rule, Protestant attempts based on the authority of the church or on discipline fail. Sometimes a High Anglican church has been able to enforce the confessional, but this fails utterly to reach the masses of the people. Even the clubs started in the churches are difficult to manage

in any way that would suit a disciplinarian. If they are successful they tend to expand far beyond their own neighborhoods, and consequently to become less and less identified with the church in which they originated. Their tendency to eliminate from their meetings all formal "religion" has been already noted. The day of external religious authority is irrevocably passing.

Allied to this disinclination to accept authority is the demand for more democracy in the churches. The religion of the common school system of America is democracy, and the people have learned to expect and to demand it in all their coöperative activities. A democratic church organization will get and hold people conspicuously, whereas the failure of undemocratic missions and of plutocratic, "exclusive" congregations is often observed. The church of the future must be democratic.

Another thing which the people are learning from the common schools is the real inessentialness of the minor differences between churches. The evils of competition and the advantages of coöperation are just as great in the case of the churches as elsewhere in modern life. It is the churches' duty to unite. Not that important creedal differences are likely to be, or

should be, overcome; but it would be the part of wisdom at present to subordinate these, in the presence of the greater problems of society.[1] Moreover, no one denies that sectarianism has been carried to an unjustifiable extreme; and it is possible that coöperative sociological work may be a means of healing many minor breaches and getting rid of the petty sectarianism which is the bane of organized Christianity.[2] Federation of churches in cities, towns and counties, for administrative and social purposes,[3] could not help being a good thing for efficiency. For one thing, it would remedy the present poor distribution of churches. The country towns would not have one church to 80 people, and the cities one to 3,000. Proper coöperation would also make it possible for each church to have assigned to it a definite task with the understanding that it, and it alone, would be held responsible for its performance. Each church should be made accountable for the unchurched masses in its immediate neighborhood, native or foreign, and should not be interfered with.

It must be recognized that methods and pro-

[1] Ross, "Sin and Society," 85.

[2] For an exceedingly significant illustration of the modern tendency toward the unification of religion about a social centre, see "A Civic Revival," *Outlook*, July 11, 1908.

[3] Strong, "New Era," 312.

grammes which work in the country will not often do in the city. The city has its own peculiar problems, which must be solved in their own way, and by men raised and trained in city work. It is in the cities that the policy of "aggressive evangelism" is likely to be most successful.[1] "Seats Free, Everybody Welcome," is not a sufficient invitation. Revivals, shop-services, summer-tents, extensive advertising, etc., are methods of securing attention whose efficacy has been often demonstrated. Every church must be evangelistic in some considerable degree; and it must be remembered that it is not only the "evangelical" churches that can be evangelistic. The duty of social evangelization rests upon all churches, and neither "liberal" nor "evangelical" is as yet sufficiently awake to that fact. The "evangelical" churches are subject to a special risk in this connection: the risk of making the mistake that the masses can be "saved" as masses, and not as individuals. The soul is a delicate thing, like a watch; souls "saved" by the wholesale are like watches made by machinery: they are cheap, and don't wear well.

Perhaps the most characteristically city work is that of the institutional churches. This work recognizes that the churches must reach the

[1] Stelzle, "Christianity's Storm Centre," *passim*.

masses on the plane where the masses live; that they must lead to the spiritual through the physical. The best institutional churches are thoroughly religious, and religious in the best sense: the sense that covers every phase of life. They recognize the duty and the value of all-day and every-day ministration. "You cannot get angels out of a block of marble with a stroke of the chisel once a week."[1] And so they keep after their people daytime and evening, seven days in the week, working along every line, physical, mental and moral, through which a spiritually helpful uplift may be given. In this kind of work the absolute necessity of coöperation between churches again becomes apparent, in the interests of harmony and efficiency. Within the church itself a combination of democracy with strong autocracy, as at St. George's in New York, seems to be most successful. The leader must, of course, be a man of religious fervor and vast administrative ability. The most successful volunteer workers are those who have been brought up in the church, have derived the most benefit from it, and are consequently most interested in it. Trained workers are necessary in some departments, and sometimes these cannot be secured without the payment of salaries;

[1] Judson, 30 *Ann. Am. Ac.*, 439.

but, other things being equal, volunteer work is best, because most spontaneous.

The rock on which institutional churches and missions are most likely to break is the matter of relief. Dr. Rainsford found, of course, that he would have to make the sittings in his church free before anything else could be done. But beyond that the parishioner pays for what he gets, though not always the cost price. The great success of the Baptist Shoreditch Tabernacle in London,[1] which uses no church relief at all, is very encouraging to those whose fear of its dangers would lead them to do away with it altogether. The combination of religion with indiscriminate relief almost always detracts from the success of both. And the spectacle of several churches in the same neighborhood making bids for the people with indiscriminate donations leads Charles Booth to warn us that the special dangers arising from degrading forms of competition apply to charity quite as much as to industry, and call no less imperatively for intervention.[2] In the absence of individual and coöperative regulation, public opinion always intervenes with its strong disapproval.

Although it is true that in general church privileges should not be sold, and that self-

[1] Booth, *l. c.*, II, 81. [2] *Ibid.*, 45.

support is not the most important thing for an institutional church, yet the fact remains that those are weak churches in which a few individuals pay all the expenses. One may be pauperized as truly by free "religion" as by free blankets or free tobacco. In its worst phases the recipients of such bounty develop a moral flabbinesss and shiftlessnes which are far indeed from religious; at the best, it works insidiously against that individual independence which is essential to democracy.

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to assume that the people will be satisfied with any unnecessary stinting of expense. "The masses in New York require the very best preaching, architecture and music." The same is true of the masses everywhere. They are so well trained by their "betters" in the incidents of luxury that they will not have anything "cheap," even as a gift. Besides, cheap things are not usually attractive. Evidence of costliness is to most people the only guarantee of æsthetic quality. The advantages of appeal to the æsthetic sense are generally recognized. It is utilized to great effect by the Catholic church everywhere. The value of music, from every point of view, has been acknowledged, with few exceptions, from time immemorial. The Prot-

estants would do well if, instead of spending annually millions on the heathen in foreign lands, they would spend the same or more millions on the heathen at home. Small expenditure in home missionary work, as in any other kind of advertising, gets small results.

The following paragraph from a denominational paper sums up the situation admirably:[1] "Our city missions are mostly a disgrace to us. And the people whom we are attempting to reach know it. Their minds are often quite as keen as ours. The trouble with our churches is that they are not willing to spend sufficient money and to show a real interest in these city-mission efforts. A rich city church, with a home of its own costing thousands of dollars, carpeted, cushioned, adorned with rich pews, pipe-organ, and stained windows, will have as a 'mission' a wretched, unpainted hut on a side street, alongside negro cabins, with battered chairs, worn-out hymnals, no facilities for Sunday-school work or the physical comfort of the children, and expect the 'poor' to crowd into it. The kind of poor we have in our cities of moderate size will do nothing of the kind. Nor can they be blamed. Neither will they go to service in the rich church itself—at least not till their

[1] Cited in *Literary Digest*, July 18, 1908, p. 86.

wages have increased till they can dress as they see others dress."

There must be an increased sense of individualized responsibility among the church members. The conception of the universality of religion makes the layman's opportunity; and each church member can and should be a social missionary. Pastors must know how to set their people to work. There must be closer and more effective organization within the churches. The pastor must be a specialist in such administrative work; and his authority, established by training and experience, must be recognized and maintained in the "congregational" churches as well as in the (nominally) less democratic denominations. The defect of democracy has always been its unwillingness to defer to the leadership of ability; the churches might demonstrate its practicability. Leadership is as essential in church administration as in any other. Lack of it results in inefficiency and failure, and keeps men out of the churches; with it, a small body of workers can, by the cumulative effects of success, make an important institution.

Personal evangelism is a need created by the present situation: there must be a transmission of the Spirit by a universal contact which can

come only from the laity. Leaving everything to the minister makes neglect of the non-churchgoer inevitable. When the minister can call on two hundred families, each member of his congregation might reasonably be expected to attend to two. The absence of this kind of personal effort is apt to be taken by the unchurched as evidence of indifference, of lack of spiritual life. This variety of personal work is needed also for its tonic effects on the worker himself. The idea is altogether too prevalent that if one contributes to the financial support of a church one is doing all that can be expected. Money is no substitute for personal service. To the masses the check of a successful business man does not represent a sacrifice; and sacrificial atonement is still necessary. That is why the Salvation Army and the army of settlement workers get results, while the missions languish.

The arrest of the modern tendency toward the break-up of the home life would contribute materially toward the good of the churches; and the opportunity of home-rehabilitation is one which is peculiarly for the laity. For the need of personal help in improving the home—and only by improvement can it be saved—calls especially for house-to-house visitation on a scale which is impossible for the clergy. This

process would also afford that personal contact which is needed by both the church-goer and the unchurched, and would accomplish that wider distribution of the personally good and self-sacrificing in the slums and elsewhere where their example and influence are needed.

There are numerous special methods resorted to in special cases, whose value must be determined each time solely by their success or failure. For example, the "High Church" method, aside from its theological bearings, is sometimes successful and sometimes not. Booth reports that in one case a High Church service, bright and short, with strong appeal to the imagination and little strain on the attention, secured a genuine congregation of quite poor people. Occasionally, the insistence on confession is successful. But on the whole, High Church efforts in London are not heartily responded to. There is a general opposition to ritualism; "simple gospel" services reach more people than "Romanism"; elaborate services at St. Stephen's fail completely. Booth concludes that the value of High Church methods is extremely doubtful.

But on the other hand, an appeal to the spectacular, without the objectionable ritualistic features, is usually more or less successful. A

free use of sensational methods made even a High Church prosperous under adverse circumstances in one case in London. The great efficacy of these methods is demonstrated in London in the North Central Wesleyan Mission,[1] St. James Hall, the United Methodist Free Church (built in the shape of a lighthouse), and other instances which might be multiplied without end from England and America. On the other hand there are churches, and many of them, which succeed fairly well within their sphere, without resort to spectacular extremes—which have their (too frequently pointed out) dangers. This is a matter which must be determined in each individual case by the character of the surrounding population and the personal qualifications and temperament of the minister.

The value of the use of the secular press in a modern way is receiving increasing recognition. The Presbyterians in America have a "Press Bureau," and its manager bears eloquent testi-

[1] Booth, *l. c.*, II, 125: "The North Central Wesleyan Mission's success is due to exceptional methods. The secret is the breathing of human life into every function of religion; or it may be put the other way, as the introduction of religion into every function of human life. The energy evolved by this method is astonishing. Everything hums with activity, and is carried on with what the Americans describe as a hurrah of enthusiasm. There would seem to be no time for meditation. The quieter influences of religion are lost; but there is assuredly no time for doubt."

mony to its good results. The Unitarian Church in America has recently developed what it calls "The Paragraph Pulpit," which is reaching effectively a class of people who could never be induced to enter a church, and yet are open to the message offered them, and are in the course of time subject to "conversion" to a better understanding.

Mr. Booth suggested that a touch of fashion would fill some neglected churches; and the history of one prominent denomination in America verifies this fully. The only disadvantage is that it fills the churches in question only with fashionable people, and draws those from other churches. This suggestion was probably ironical; the following idea is simply thoughtless: a London church conceived the notion of having services much earlier than usual, so that wives could get home in time to cook dinner; overlooking the fact that the working people, too, like to sleep late on Sunday. However, this is not the place to go into a detailed discussion of miscellaneous church methods.

But just one word must be said with reference to churches in small towns and in the country. It would be as great a mistake for them to attempt to take over bodily the plans and methods of city churches as for the latter to model

their methods on the needs and experiences of the former. Habits of thought and of life, social customs and traditions, are entirely different from those in cities, and they also differ from one town to another. Each locality is a separate problem and requires separate study. Peculiar qualifications are demanded in the minister of the rural church, such qualifications as are most likely to be found in men born and bred in such communities. The city minister is no more likely to "fit" in the country than the country minister in the city.

There is need for serious discussion of the question of the superfluity of churches in small towns. Sectarianism has here done its deadliest work, and it is safe to say that there are too many churches in most villages. These churches, as a rule, are too small and too poor to do effective work; and their mutual jealousies and rivalries impede all efforts at coöperation. Their members are exceedingly apt, except under extraordinary circumstances, to develop that selfish and narrow outlook which so often goes with suburban and provincial life. Altogether it is questionable whether Göhre's dictum that "the small parish church must be revived"[1] should apply to America, whatever

[1] Göhre, *l. c.*, 217.

may be its justification in Germany. Says Mr. Crooker:[1] "Religious destitution has fallen upon many towns and villages because there are too many churches in them." The truth seems to be that here "we need a new and brief period of Christian martyrdom, in which many churches shall suffer death for the glory of God."[2]

[1] Crooker, *l. c.*, 14.
[2] Strong, *l. c.*, 327.

CHAPTER V

THE MODERN MINISTER

FINALLY, we must not forget that as the salvation of society can be wrought only through individuals, in the ultimate analysis, so also with the salvation of the churches. For better or for worse, the churches, or at any rate, the Protestant churches, depend upon their ministers; the condition of the churches at any given time is a fair index of the quality of their ministers. It is the personality of the man that makes or mars the individual church; and it is the collective ideals and practices of the ministers which determines whether the churches as a whole shall be successful or otherwise in their relations with the people.

That the minister must be a good man goes without saying. The influence of personal example is immeasurable, for good or for bad. The efficacy of personal relations depends upon the character of the "parson"; and it has been asserted that more has been accomplished for the church through personal contact with the

masses than through all its institutionalized work. It is time, however, to call ministers' attention to the fact that goodness is no longer identified with piety or devoutness. A minister is usually taught that he must be better than other men; and often the only way he can be better than some of the people in his parish is in the assumption of an excessive devoutness. But this at once creates in him the "holier than thou" feeling, and ends his further usefulness. This is not a pious age.

We must also have a higher average of preaching ability than the churches can at present boast. The minister can no longer rely upon the "sacredness" of his calling to secure him a hearing. He must meet the demands of the populace; and those demands are numerous and exacting. He must have unlimited familiarity with all modern thought on all modern subjects; he must be able to discuss the ethics of employers' liability Sunday morning; socialism Sunday evening; industrial education at a teachers' meeting Monday; municipal government on Tuesday; Browning Wednesday afternoon, and the efficacy of prayer Wednesday evening; talk to the Woman's Club Thursday afternoon on current topics, and to the High School Friday afternoon on the duties of citi-

zenship; and Saturday he may be asked to conduct a Nature-study excursion, working out in the meantime his next sermon on the Roycian conception of immortality, which, of course, he must put into popularly intelligible form.

Intelligibility is a virtue too little appreciated by many preachers. With the shifting of the churches from the masses of the people with only slight education to the wealthier and presumably more cultured classes has come a style of preaching which is aimed at the latter, but which, in fact, often misses its mark altogether. There must be sound and deep thinking in every sermon, and such thinking is not easily followed or grasped even when most clearly presented. Preaching must be intellectual; but if it is to accomplish any purpose, it must be understood. Its aim is to lead people to do or to be something better than their present doing or being. It must persuade. The preacher therefore must use every means of persuasion; and if he finds that a baldly logical presentation of a thought is not effective (and it rarely is), he should not hesitate to avil himself of any other manner or method which will secure the desired result.

And the minister must display the most unquestionable sincerity of thought and expression, or the people will none of him. Any suspicion

that he is subservient to financial or ecclesiastical influence, that it is not *his* mind but another's which is working, is sure to be fatal. Then his best thought must be presented with freshness and brilliancy, or the people will stay home and read the newspapers and magazines, where the editors are at great pains to insure freshness and brilliancy. Then he must have energy and histrionic ability; and if he hasn't them by nature, he must acquire them by art. With it all he must avoid any tinge of femininity. His bearing in the pulpit and out of it must be one of essential manliness; neither conceited, nor overbearing, nor over-refined. He must be always a gentleman, but never a fop.

In this connection must be noticed a mistaken policy pursued by some churches in keeping their old ministers in full activity long after their strength has ceased to be equal to the tasks imposed upon them. We can all call to mind famous ministers whose old age was a veritable sunset glow of beauty and power. And yet it must be admitted these cases are rare. More often advancing years bring failing health and failing mental grasp, which are, perhaps, not so much noticed by the minister's contemporaries, but are only too obvious to the younger generation growing up under him, and perhaps

leaving the church rather than giving voice to their real feelings. Over-long pastorates have been the death of many a church.

There is great danger also in the practice of retaining an ex-minister, retired on account of age, in connection with the church as pastor-emeritus. There is in this something as complimentary to the church which thus shows its appreciation of a life of ability and service as there is to the minister thus honored. But experience has shown that, with human nature constituted as it is, embarrassments are bound to ensue. The pastor-emeritus, by the inevitable processes of human life, is a generation behind; but he rarely knows it himself, and his friends are not kind enough to him and to the church to make him aware of it. It is difficult for him to realize that he is retired; that his position is an honorary one, relieved of responsibilities and consequently of official duties. And so he takes a natural interest in the way his successor does things, and if his successor happens to do them in a way to which he is not accustomed, he is apt to betray his apprehension that the church is being ruined by departures from the ways of the fathers. In parishes where, through his long residence and intimate relations with the people from their childhood, his

influence, though unofficial, is still considerable, this cannot help but lead to difficulties. Retirement with the understanding that the ex-minister is to sever all official relations with his parish when he leaves its active ministry is the remedy for this.

That ministers should be high-grade social leaders has already been pointed out. That they must be hard workers is surely obvious. "Perspiration is just as important as inspiration, and sometimes it accomplishes more," says Mr. Stelzle. A minister cannot afford to be too busy to attend to any request for help of any kind which comes to him. The plea of preoccupation is never accepted from a clergyman. He must expect to work eighteen hours a day, if necessary, to help secure an eight-hour day for the rest of humanity. His life is a life of service, as he must be fully aware before he ventures into it; and as there is no possibility of overproduction, there are no natural or legal limits on the length of the service-day.

Finally, a matter of clerical education calls for attention. Professor Peabody has remarked:[1] "Neither ethical passion nor rhetorical genius equips a preacher for economic judgments." Yet, as we have seen, the insistent need of this

[1] Peabody, *l. c.*, 35.

time is for preachers capable of making sound economic and sociological judgments. The reproach of their ignorance must be taken away. They must become familiar with sociology and economics in all their branches. They must study them at first hand, by actual contact and by investigation of "sources." [1] Their formal theological education must be broadened so as to include these subjects. A few of the leading schools provide for them now—Harvard Divinity and others connected with the great nonsectarian universities; but, as a rule, the ministers' ignorance of the social topics in which all the rest of the population is vitally interested is as dense at though they did not live on this planet. Nowhere is attention to this sufficiently insisted upon. Education in theological seminaries should be thoroughly modernized and "secularized." Whatever may be the case for the Biblical scholar and prospective professor, for the active minister economics and sociology are vastly more important than Hebrew and Aramaic; the vital concerns of Europeans and Americans of to-day are much better worth knowing than the habits of the Hittites and the Perizzites.

[1] But avoiding the indecencies of the amateur "sociologist" so amusingly depicted by one of the victims—Stelzle, *l. c.*, 101.

CONCLUSION

IN concluding this study one is minded to consider whether, after all, there is hope for the continuance of organized religion. It is undeniable that the people as a whole have deserted the churches, and that it is at least partly the churches' "fault." I have tried to point out the way the churches, as it seems to me, must go to regain the people; but it is the *only* way, and it is an unquestionably hard one.

The sum of the situation is this: The churches' old methods and ideas have failed; they must change their methods and ideas to conform with the predominant social interests of the day. *The churches must be thoroughly socialized.* If that can be done only at the expense of "historical continuity" and the other fetiches of the study, by all means let them go. They are worth nothing in comparison with religion. And the ultimate preservation of religion depends upon its continued institutionalization. It is easy to be optimistic about the "religion of the unchurched"; there is undoubtedly a great

deal of religion among them, inherited and absorbed; but it is indefinite and chaotic, and is gradually thinning out and disappearing.

But humanity will not let religion disappear entirely. Evolution is a growth of the Spirit; progress and civilization exist only in, by and through the Spirit. There must be an awakening some day. The only question is, *Will the churches of to-day see their present opportunity and grasp it, or will they struggle on fitfully until humanity comes to their rescue, but with a new religion of its own?* The call is clear enough; will the churches heed it?

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